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Soviet Expert on CEMA Monetary Policy

LD1609144988 Budapest MTI in English 1414 GMT 12 SEP 88

[Text] Budapest, September 12, 1988 (MTI-Econews)—Soviet monetary experts argue on the ways and timing of the introduction of a convertible ruble, said D. V. Smyslov, senior economist of the Institute of World Economy of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, when addressing a recent financial conference in Hungary.

Some say the ruble should be made covertible at one stroke and towards all the other currencies, others reject the idea as unrealistic and say the conditions of making the ruble convertible can be created only gradually.

Several Soviet economists urge the Soviet Union to join the International Monetary Fund immediately, others argue it is necessary to set up contacts with the fund but before they would actually join it is necessary to create a uniform internal ruble rate, an appropriate banking background and the hard currency market of the Soviet Union and the Comecon.

Financial and monetary relations are being upgraded or at least revalued in the Soviet Union, said Mr Smyslov.

Discussing the monetary system of the Comecon member countries, the Soviet economist said in spite of its well-known weaknesses the transferable ruble mechanism would probably remain in force in its present form for a while. The problems springing from the different systems of pricing, cost assessment, rates, financial regulators and taxes have hatched the idea of limited convertability, the practical introduction of which the Soviet Union has already reached an agreement on with Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

Mr Smyslov said it was considered necessary in respect to Hungary too, as Hungarian firms are involved in six out of eleven joint ventures operating in the Soviet Union. Partial convertability of the national currencies cannot, however, replace a common convertible socialist currency that will fulfill the function of a legal tender and promote the development of market relations within the Comecon, said Smyslov.

He confirmed that the socialists countries were basically interested in reshaping the international monetary system and said the institutional adjustment of rates should be restored in order to prevent extreme fluctuations of exchange rates and interest rates.

Smyslov agreed that a better world currency than the SDR should be created first. He said the development of a regional monetary integration—that is, an advanced financial system of the Comecon besides the European monetary system, and a similar grouping around the Yen, could be a transition in that direction.

The Soviet Government is reassessing its relations with various international economic and financial organizations and is showing increasing willingness for cooperation. The radical reform the country is implementing is enhancing the Soviet Union's activity in international monetary relations and the government is supporting at every forum the modernization efforts of the international monetary system, and the process of international integration, Mr Smyslov stressed.

Interparliamentary Union Convenes in Sofia

Bulgaria's Zhivkov Speaks

AU1909143288 Sofia BTA in English 1400 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—The Eighth Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was opened here this morning in the presence of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council.

On behalf of the National Assembly, the State Council and the Government of Bulgaria he greeted the conference participants, some 500 parliamentariasts from over 90 countries and the representatives of 12 international organizations.

We highly esteem the noble activity of your union, which is a representative and prestigeous organization with its own real contribution in the cause of peace, security and cooperation, Mr. Todor Zhivkov said.

Stressing that the present moment in the development of the world is remarkable, with no parity in the history of humankind, Mr. Zhivkov pointed out the great opportunities which the techno-scientifical progress opened to meet the material and spiritual needs of each people and of all people. Concurrently, the achievements of man's thought brought to an immense development of the weapons of destruction. The new political thinking and actions on the international arena are a well deserved victory of the common sense, after it had become ever more clear where the armaments race was leading to, Mr. Todor Zhivkov said.

By pointing out that the easing of the international climate gave the first tangible results, Mr. Zhivkov said that it is particularly important now to make irreversible the positive processes in the international arena, and by concrete initiatives, to increase the trends which could determine the face of the world on the borderline between the 20 and 21 centuries.

Mr. Zhivkov then dwelled upon the new conditions of the present world, which is more than ever united and mutually connected. All of us must now master the difficult but necessary art: to render a new meaning to man's civilization, to create and strengthen in the name of progress new, common human values, Todor Zhivkov said.

He expressed his conviction that the threat of an ecological catastrophe, the economic backwardness, the large-scale diseases, the terrible children's death, the growing illiteracy, all of which are global problems, can be solved only with the common efforts of humankind, by decisive restructuring of international relations balanced on the interests.

The delegates and guests of the conference were greeted by Mr. Petur Vutov, president of the Bulgarian Inter-Parliamentary Group, who expressed his hope and conviction that the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the parliaments and parliamentarians will continue to put their efforts in the solution of global problems for safeguarding of peace, for the consolidation and extending of all-round international cooperation.

Dr. Hans Stercken held his last speech as a president of the Inter-Parliamentary Council at the conference opening. (His three-year long mandate has ended and the new president will be elected at this conference.)

Dwelling on the topics which over the last years have been discussed by the Inter-Parliamentary Union Dr. Hans Stercken stressed the contribution, which the organization has to give to the development of world events in the present time of changes.

The hope that the conflicts will be settled and the tensions eased came from the substantial results of the talks. By their policy of detente the superpowers broadened the UN range of activities. Today, direct negotiations are being held. These, who are still avoiding the dialogue should come tomorrow to negotiations, Dr. Hans Stercken said.

He called the parliaments to more efficient activities in the efforts for strengthening the policy of the dialogue and cooperation, for strengthening of peace in all regions of the world, for resolving the economic and social problems.

Perez de Cuellar Message Read

AU1909182988 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 19 sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—"You are convening at a time of promise in international affairs", says in his message to the participants in the 80th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the UN, read by Mr. Jan Martenson.

"A new era of cooperation among the major powers, a relaxation of tensions, the conclusion of major arms control agreements, and progress in the settlement of regional conflicts, all point us in the direction of a better world. The challenge before us now is to maintain the momentum: make progress in the solution of regional conflicts and use the better international climate to tackle the pressing economic and social problems which beset many countries, Mr. Perez de Cuellar points out.

Expressing his satisfaction that "the session will be discussing action by parliaments in developing international cooperation in the humanitarian field and in bringing national legislation into line with international human rights norms, principles and instruments," the UN secretary-general says: "More and more these days, we are called upon to respond to the humanitarian needs

of people caught up in natural and man-made disasters, in conflicts, in refugee outflows and in massive displacement of population. It is a source of constant pride to see how governments, parliaments, groups and individuals in many countries invariably rise up in support of people in distress in other parts of the world," Javier Perez de Cuellar points out.

He stresses that it is incumbent upon every government which has ratified human rights conventions to bring their national legislation into accord with the provisions of those conventions.

The United Nations has always accorded the highest importance to universal realization of the principles of self-determination and of equality, says Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, paying attention to the second question of the conference's agenda: the contribution of parliaments to the implementation of the UN resolutions on the granting of independence to colonial territories and to the elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid. The elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid is particularly urgent in southern Africa where the peoples of South Africa and Namibia have had to endure the trauma of apartheid, points out the UN secretary general.

He welcomes the fact that the Interparliamentary Union will continue its debate on the political, economic and social situation of the world.

During the first day of the conference the Central African Republic and Malta were admitted to membership of the Interparliamentary Union.

The participants also approved the themes for discussion: the action of parliaments in developing international cooperation in the humanitarian field and in bringing national legislation into line with international human rights norms; the contribution of parliaments to the implementation of United Nations resolutions on the granting of independence to colonial territories and to the elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid; and general debates on topical international issues. These are the themes which have been proposed at the 79th conference in Guatemala.

An additional topic for discussion was also approved: the national uprising in the Arab territories occupied by Israel.

Today, before the opening of the conference State Council President Mr. Todor Zhivkov had a meeting with Dr. Hans Stercken, chairman of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, and with Mr. Pierre Cornillon, secretary general of the Interparliamentary Union, and with other members of the Executive Committee of the Union.

Participants in the conference were received by Mr. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly.

Syria's Qaddurah Gives Address
JN2009170188 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1515 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia—The IPU's 80th conference resumed in Sofia this morning. The political committee of the conference began discussions on an additional agenda item presented by the Syrian Parliament. People's Assembly Speaker Comrade 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah addressed the conference, stressing that Syria under struggling President Hafiz al-Asad spares no effort to strive for a just peace through an effective and fully empowered UN-sponsored international conference attended by all the concerned parties and the permanent members of the Security Council. This council would be able to implement the UN resolutions guaranteeing Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the retrieval of the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights, including their right to repatriation, self-determination, and the establishment of their own independent state on their national soil.

Qaddurah also stressed that the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East has reached a very grave and volatile level as a result of Israel's aggressive, expansionist, and terrorist policy. He added that what deeply preoccupies mankind today is the Arab people's sufferings in the occupied Arab territories, such as persecution, expulsion, and annihilation as well as killing, maiming, bone-breaking, burying and burning people alive, demolishing houses, expelling innocent and peaceful people from their houses and homeland, and jailing thousands of people. He urged the parliamentarians to pressure their governments to condemn the Zionist enemy's policy, inflict severe punishment on it, and expel it from international circles.

The People's Assembly speaker also pointed out that the course of events last year and this year has recorded tangible progress toward international detente. He referred to the Soviet initiatives to achieve international detente, which prompted Soviet-U.S. summits that succeeded in reaching an agreement on the need for and importance of safeguarding international security, reducing the nuclear arsenal, and destroying two generations of nuclear missiles.

Concluding his speech, the People's Assembly speaker said that peace and security in the world are indivisible and that the desire to establish a comprehensive world security order necessitates the continuation of efforts to find just solutions to all crises in all areas, foremost of which is the volatile situation in the Middle East, which has resulted from Israel's aggressive policy and its continued occupation of the Palestinian territories, the Syrian Golan Heights, and southern Lebanon. He added that Syria and the Syrian parliamentarians, like other people, welcome these developments, which we hope will be in the interests of mankind and not at the expense of the developing countries in reaching final solutions.

The IPU approved the agenda of its 80th conferernce last night. At this session, Comrade Nawal Muhammad, a member of the delegation, talked about the role that President Hafiz al-Asad has assigned to women in Syria, who occupy a high place in all institutions, including the party and government.

Kosovo Pamphlets Called Serb 'Provocation'
AU2009190088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] According to TANJUG, pamphlets were found at 15 different points in Pristina, the capital of the Kosovo Autonomous Province. They were found at the city's library and elsewhere. TANJUG claims that the pamphlets were the work of Albanian chauvinists and separatists, and that they call on the Albanian population of Kosovo to begin an armed uprising and to criticize the country's constitutional order.

It is is interesting to note that, according to the Serbian press in Belgrade, such pamphlets are being found increasingly more frequently in the streets of Pristina, precisely at a time when Serb and Montenegrin nationalist demonstrations are becoming more frequent, whose main theme is the demand for arms for protection against a supposed armed Albanian uprising.

It is clear that such pamphlets are the work of Serb nationalists, with provocative intentions, to use as a justification for possible future repressive and denigrating measures against Albanians in Kosovo, and to abrogate the province's autonomy.

BASHKIMI Comments on Plight of SFRY Economy
AU2009121988 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 16 Sep 9 4

[Leontiev Cuci article: "The Yugoslav Economic Crisis and Its Prospects"]

[Text] Yugoslavia is currently undergoing one of its most serious periods of political, social, and economic crisis, enveloping its entire structure and superstructure. The country, DANAS emphasized a few days ago, "is approaching boiling point, and this is the last chance to harness every means to cool, not further inflame, the atmosphere. It is obvious a decisive phase of the crisis has been reached in this hot summer of 1988, in which the patient's fate will be decided and the decision will be made: success or defeat, cure or death!"

The crisis of the Yugoslav economy, as an essential element in this general crisis, is not a new phenomenon of the eighties. Its characteristic symptoms appeared earlier: declining production rates, low use of production capacities, rising unemployment, prices, and inflation, balance of payments deficits, and debts. The self-management system, relying upon the decentralization of the means of production, management, and of economic organization, prepared the ground for the outbreak of the economic crisis, bringing the economy to its present critical state.

Particular economic policies that have been drawn up time and again, such as the much-vaunted long-term economic stabilization plan of 1983, merely achieved transient and partial solution in certain fields, and did not manage to arrest the momentum of the crisis. The anti-inflationary program implemented by the Yugoslav Government last November, providing measures to freeze prices, boost production and productivity, and improve the foreign currency balance, "was not able," according to Milenko Renovica, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, "to prevent excessive price increases and stagnation in industrial production, or to remove difficulties in agricultural development." Finding itself in a situation of insoluble difficulties and antagonisms, the Yugoslav Government drew up another package of economic measures in May, with 48 new laws, some of which have been approved by the Yugoslav Federal Assembly, while the remainder have been left for approval in the fall.

The claim is that inflation can be reduced to 90-95 percent, and that economic development stabilized somewhat. With this aim in mind, these measures rely upon a greater market orientation for the Yugoslav economy, more liberal prices and a wage freeze, more open doors and new privileges for foreign capital, and the massive encouragement of small private businesses in every sector of production and services.

A greater orientation of the Yugoslav economy toward the market, and especially the world market, is made necessary not only by the nature of the economic laws that operate in the country, but by its very structure with its consumerist thinking, in which consumption has always outstripped production. As a result, the import of goods and capital on credit and loans have been discovered as the "key" to alleviating this contradiction. The imperative demands of foreign creditors for debts to be settled have imposed the priority production of goods for export, disrupting the balance of supply and demand on the domestic market, and paving the way for the free play of prices on the market and inflation. There are demands to intensify the use of these familiar and long-tried devices in the management of the Yugoslav economic crisis—all "to extract the country from its crisis," but using methods which have only deepened it.

The aim now is to orient the Yugoslav economy more broadly not only toward the market in goods, but toward the markets in capital, labor, bonds, currency, and so forth. The aim is also to further liberalize prices, to encourage competition among enterprises by permitting bankruptcies, to give fresh favors to capitalist investors to invest even without the participation of domestic capital, and to implant small and medium-sized private businesses more firmly in the national economy through direct productive investments and share capital.

Although 3 months of passed since the implementation of the new measures, production, according to the Yugoslav Federal Statistics Institute, has been falling ever since April 1987. In the January-July period of this

year, in comparison with the same period last year, production fell by 1.8 percent. The figure at the end of this year is expected at best to be 1 percent lower than that of 1987.

The fall in production as a whole during the last 7 months is also reflected in continual deficits in exports and the trade balance. Supplying machinery for production from imports has become more difficult and the impossibility of clearing debts of $20 billion has become more evident. The new economic reform anticipates special measures for postponing debt settlement dates, as well as for contracting new debts in order to settle the old. Up until now, under agreements with foreign creditors and under very severe conditions for Yugoslavia, new postponed settlement dates have been agreed upon for about half of the present debts, and contracts have been entered into for new credit to the amount of $750 million.

Meanwhile, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, declared during his visit to Vares on 16 August that inflation during the first 7 months of this year had reached a record level of 190 percent. This extraordinary rise in inflation, under a policy of price liberalization (60 percent of prices have been liberalized up until now, and 75 percent are expected to be liberalized by the end of this year), has brought drastic price rises. Between July 1987 and July 1988, according to figures published in BORBA on 22 August, the prices of food products rose by 196 percent, of clothes and shoes by 167 percent, rents by 195 percent, prices in the educational and cultural sector by 198 percent, in health and hygiene by 225 percent, and so forth. In the last 3 months, these increases have been as high as 800 percent in the cases of certain goods. Meanwhile, wages during the same period have remained constant.

This trend in the economic crisis in Yugoslavia has further reduced the living standards of the working masses, has made outbreaks of their indignation more frequent, and has deepened socioeconomic polarization. For example, since May, according to TANJUG, the cost of living has risen by 50 percent and living standards "have not only suffered a severe blow, but have been struck in an intolerably destructive way. The figure of 1,200,000 unemployed has not only not fallen, but, according to the Belgrade magazine NIN, will rise by the end of the year. At present, according to official estimates, about 60 percent of the population of Yugoslavia are living below the poverty line, while the situation in Macedonia and Kosovo is even more critical. In a recent interview in BORBA, Miroslav Georgievski, president of the Macedonian trade unions, admitted that "The situation is gloomy everywhere, but in Macedonia it is alarming. We have now in fact begun to walk about unclothed and unshod, and we will go hungry too."

Economic inequality is no longer not only not "criticized," but there are debates over what kind of inequality is best. For the professor of economics Ljubislav Markovic, "A market economy may increase inequalities, but inequality as a result of a market economy is fairer than inequality caused by administratively-imposed increases in the prices of goods and services."

The situation in Yugoslavia, fraught with tensions and general embitterment, as the Yugoslav press has shown, has led to a large rise in the number of strikes and protests and the numbers of those taking part in them. The Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia reported on 2 September that, during the first half of this year, 799 strikes took place, or 5.7 percent more than in the same period last year, and that 151,000 workers, or 48.8 percent more, took part in them. It is now openly admitted that "the essential cause of these strikes is not low wages, but dissatisfaction at the general situation, a dissatisfaction that has obvious political reasons."

The authors of the recent economic reform have themselves become pessimistic, and see the most gloomy prospects ahead. Bozidar Colakovic, president of SAWPY, said some time ago that "The coming months will be exceptionally difficult, perhaps the most difficult of the entire postwar period." Meanwhile, the magazine DANAS, commenting on the consequences of the reforms, points out that "A reform that offers workers unemployment and social insecurity, and that desires to transform them into a body of day-laborers, can throw workers into strikes and political demonstrations to the point of a general strike and the creation of a workers' syndicalist political organization."

Italian Foreign Minister Andreotti Visits

Arrives, Met by Mladenov

AU2009165488 Sofia BTA in English 1604 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—A year and a half after his first visit in this country Mr. Giulio Andreotti, foreign affairs minister of Italy, is again a guest of Bulgaria. He arrived on an official visit at the invitation of Mr. Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria. The short span of time between the two visits is already an evidence of the efforts of Bulgaria and Italy to bring back the dynamics of their relations and make them ever more intensive. This has been confirmed by a number of joint ventures in the sphere of trading in which the stress is being laid on the highly efficient forms of mutual relations. These ventures are in concert with the two countries' will to improve, among other things their political relations, and contribute to strengthening of peace and confidence in Europe and in the world.

Mr. Andreotti's brief statement on his arrival today at Sofia Airport was in a similar spirit. After overcoming a difficult period Italy and Bulgaria have today good relations. I believe that this visit will contribute to their further development, he said.

Mr. Giulio Andreotti was met by his counterpart Mr. Petur Mladenov and by officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Tours Pravets

AU2009184988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] On 20 September Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti arrived in Pravets. The leader of Italian diplomacy, accompanied by Minister Petur Mladenov, reviewed the city center.

Afterwards Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, received Giulio Andreotti. They discussed bilateral relations, cooperation in various areas, and topical international issues. Minister Petur Mladenov attended the meeting.

Holds Talks With Zhivkov

AU2009192088 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Pravets, September 20 (BTA)— Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, received Mr. Giulio Andreotti, minister of foreign relations of Italy, who arrived on an official visit to this country today.

The two sides discussed the condition and the prospects of the Bulgaro-Italian relations, the opportunities for broadening and deepening of the cooperation in a number of spheres.

A number of international issues were viewed. Support was expressed to the Soviet-American dialogue. The two sides pointed out the need of deepening of the Helsinki process, of further development of the East-West relations. The importance of the Vienna meeting for the strengthening of understanding was emphasized. The two sides confirmed Bulgaria's and Italy's desire to continue to contribute to the development of the positive tendencies in international life.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov briefed his Italian guest on the socio-economic development of this country, on the restructuring in all spheres of life. He extended an official invitation to Italy's President Mr. Francesco Cossiga to visit Bulgaria.

The meeting passed in a constructive atmosphere. It was attended by Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign relations.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov gave dinner in honour of the eminent guest.

Tomorrow the official visit continues.

Received by Atanasov

AU2109112688 Sofia BTA in English 1044 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—Mr. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, received Mr. Giulio Andreotti, minister of foreign affairs of Italy, who is on an official visit to this country.

They discussed questions of the state and prospects of the bilateral relations, the opportunities for activation and enrichment of the mutual trade-economic contacts.

The two sides had fruitful exchange of opinions on certain international issues and expressed satisfaction over the positive tendencies in international climate, over the improvement of the situation in Europe and in the world, over the activation of the East-West dialogue.

Official invitation was extended, on Bulgarian side, to Italy's Prime Minister Mr. Ciriaco De Mita to visit Bulgaria.

The talk was attended by Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria.

Reportage on French Foreign Minister's Visit

Arrives 15 Sep

LD1509164088 Prague CTK in English 1026 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 15 (CTK)—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas arrived here today on a three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia.

During his stay he will hold talks with Czechoslovak representatives on the possibilities of deepening cooperation beween Czechoslovakia and France. He will also inspect the 30th international engineering trade fair in Brno.

The visit takes place at the invitation of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

The official visit by the French foreign minister to Czechoslovakia reflects the interest of the two countries in the continuation of a political dialogue and mutually advantageous cooperation within the strengthening of the atmosphere of confidence and the process of detente in Europe.

Roland Dumas arrived in Czechoslovakia at the invitation of his Czechoslovak counterpart Bohuslav Chnoupek for the second time. For the first time he visited Czechoslovakia in 1985. Bohuslav Chnoupek held talks in France in January 1987.

Czechoslovak-French relations have been developing in various fields. The overall trade turnover reached 447 million dollars last year. France is Czechoslovakia's sixth largest trade partner among the advanced capitalist countries after the FRG, Austria, Switzerland, Britain and Italy.

Czechoslovakia exports to France mainly chemical products, rolled material, textiles and food products. It imports from France engineering and electrical engineering products and chemicals. The long-term agreement on economic and technical cooperation signed in 1986 provides also for cooperation in the supplies of machines and equipment to the third countries and for cooperation in the construction of nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia and in some branches of ther Czechoslovak electrical engineering industry. The first mixed Czechoslovak-French companies were established this year to construct hotels and other facilities for tourists in Czechoslovakia.

The Leos Janacek festival which took place in France this spring was an example of the good level of contacts in the sphere of culture. Czechoslovak-French Medical Days, held in Prague in 1986 and in Paris in 1987 demonstrate a good level of cooperation in science. Fourteen French towns maintain friendly ties with fourteen towns in Czechoslovakia.

Meets With Chnoupek

AU2009080188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK report on talks between CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, and on the luncheon in honor of the French guest in Prague on 15 September: "Czechoslovak - French Talks"]

[Text] B. Chnoupek and R. Dumas conducted negotiations in Cernin Palace in Prague.

B. Chnoupek stressed that, within the framework of contacts with the West European countries, the CSSR attaches great significance to relations with France. He also expressed interest in intensifying these relations, and the conviction that the visit by the French minister of foreign affairs to the CSSR would represent a striking step toward deepening Czechoslovak-French relations. He recalled that the current international situation provides hopeful prospects for developing European-wide security and cooperation and for resolving regional conflicts. In this context he underscored the significance of the peace initiatives submitted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and of their efforts to introduce new thinking into international relations.

He then spoke of the substance of the Czechoslovak initiative to set up a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, which was presented by Milos Jakes. The CSSR attaches great significance to the development of the Helsinki process, he said, and is in favor of rapidly concluding the Vienna follow-up meeting and of its adopting a balanced and substantive document. While recalling that the CSSR appreciates a number of issues of France's peace policy (particularly with regard to its stands at the follow-up meeting in Vienna), he simultaneously pointed out the differing stands on certain issues.

R. Dumas stated that we are now facing a new situation in Europe and in the world. He characterized the past period as a transition to a lively, frank dialogue in the effort to resolve problems and to contribute to improving the situation in the hotbeds of tension. Despite the existing difficulties, the French minister said, the prospects are hopeful, and he added that the dialogue is reducing the risk of conflicts.

He then spoke about the situation in Europe, pointing out the new opportunities created for this continent by the disarmament process. In this context he expressed appreciation for Czechoslovakia's share in the development of peaceful cooperation in Europe. He stressed that the follow-up meeting in Vienna should be concluded as soon as possible, and expressed interest in a speedy opening of talks on conventional disarmament in Europe.

The negotiations were held in a constructive atmosphere.

On the same day, B. Chnoupek gave a festive luncheon in honor of R. Dumas, in the course of which the two ministers delivered speeches.

B. Chnoupek stated that the international community is becoming increasingly aware that security can be provided for by peaceful competition, rather than by the accumulation of arms. This knowledge also dominated the deliberations of the recent session of our Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states, he said. This session worked out a platform of negotiations on reducing the strength of armed forces and armaments in Europe, a platform which is based on a level of sensible sufficiency, provides for reliable defense, and excludes offensive operations. In this spirit, we (like you yourself) are striving to achieve a speedy conclusion to the follow-up meeting in Vienna and the adoption of a substantive and balanced concluding document.

Minister Chnoupek expressed appreciation for the significant French contribution to the birth and development of the European-wide process of cooperation and security. Proceeding from the idea of a common European home, he states, we are striving to raise this process to a qualitatively higher level. We have submitted an appropriate proposal on this, i.e., the proposal to set up a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. The proposal is open to all suggestions that promote peace. It envisages comprehensive cooperation, inter alia, by setting up joint enterprises, creating free-trade zones, simplifying customs and visa procedures, and expanding ties of friendship or direct contacts between schools, scientific workplaces, cultural institutions, and youth union organizations.

In speaking about Czechoslovak-French relations, B. Chnoupek pointed out how the political dialogue has intensified in the past period, as attested to by the numerous contacts along governmental and nongovernmental lines. We have devoted particular attention to economic cooperation, he said. A contract was signed on setting up the first mixed joint-stock company, trade between us has escalated, and we see a marked development in scientific-technical cooperation. We want to continue on the path upon which we have embarked, and we particularly want to make increased use of higher, nontraditional forms of cooperation, the Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed.

He concluded by recalling that it was with the support of France that our national and state independence was born 70 years ago, when the peoples of both countries rose in the joint struggle against fascism. General de Gaulle's pronouncement on the nonvalidity of the Munich agreement was of particular significance for us; even today, 50 years later, the memory of it has a general validity, teaching us that security is indivisible, Bohuslav Chnoupek underscored.

R. Dumas recalled the many years of traditional Czechoslovak-French cooperation (particularly in the abundance of cultural contacts), and underscored the French support in the creation of an independent Czechoslovak state 70 years ago. During the last few years, he stated, the political dialogue between the two countries has deepened. He expressed French interest in the further intensification of cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. He stressed that his country has studied the Czechoslovak proposals for disarmament, and that the two sides have opened an exchange of views on these issues.

During the last 20 years, he continued, certain new facts have emerged. All European countries have adopted the principles to be followed by every state in its relations with other states, regardless of their political systems. The frontiers erected after the war are no longer being contested. The fundamental significance of respect for human rights and for basic freedoms has been recognized. The Final Act of the Helsinki conference has made it possible to embark on cooperation projects in the spheres of military security and economic relations, and in the exchange of individuals. Dialogue has gradually replaced confrontation, and the European community has become a reality.

No great problem—whether it is the problem of preserving peace or one of the problems of the developing world—can be resolved without increased international cooperation. The new requirements emerging in connection with technical progress demand collaboration. A more realistic approach to disarmament problems is emerging, an approach which takes into account a state's right to security and the necessity of verification. In this context, Minister Dumas underscored the significance of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles, which is an expression of the desire to reduce the number of weapons rather than merely limit them.

Roland Dumas then stated that, side by side with the development of new relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, we also note the will of the USSR and of other socialist countries to draw closer to Western Europe. The various spheres of conflict and tension show signs that a solution is under way. This gives rise to the hope that our world will become more peaceful, and that the reasons for clashes between the East and West will be limited. We must see to it that the present climate promotes real progress in the spheres of confidence and cooperation. For its part, France is prepared to act in this sense and to strengthen its policy toward the countries of Eastern Europe, the French foreign minister stressed.

In speaking about the situation in Europe, he emphasized that it is essential to prepare conditions for greater general security with a lower level of arms, and spoke in favor of speedily opening negotiations on reducing conventional weapons and arms.

R. Dumas devoted great attention to cooperation between the West and East. He proposed that its center of gravity be placed in the continuation of the Helsinki process, in disarmament negotiations, the preparation of a great cultural Europe, the elaboration of new scientific cooperation projects, and the definition of new methods of economic cooperation. France, he said, also intends to proceed in this direction in its relations with Czechoslovakia.

Holds Talks With Strougal

LD1509170688 Prague CTK in English
1507 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal today received French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

In a broad-ranging and very cordial discussion the two representatives assessed the extent, level as well as difficulties of cooperation between the two countries.

They noted that relations have significantly improved over the three years since the last visit of a French foreign minister to Czechoslovakia. They appreciated the large number of state actions, cultural exchanges as well as the steady growth of mutual trade volume. However, they agreed that cooperation does not yet match the tradition of friendship which linked the two countries' nations in the past.

Lubomir Strougal stressed that the process of political economic reforms and Czechoslovakia's opening itself to the world gives a new chance to relations with France. He appreciated France's unforgettable role in the birth of Czechoslovakia 70 years ago.

Roland Dumas spoke about the need to redouble economic and especially industrial cooperation and asked that greater attention be paid to the teaching of the French language with a view to this cooperation. He favoured political dialogue to be raised to the level of prime ministers and presidents of the two Republics as soon as possible.

An understanding on the establishment of the Czechoslovak-French cultural commission's subcommissions for the teaching of the Czech and Slovak languages in France and of the French language in Czechoslovakia was signed here today.

The signatories were Ivan Remenec, director of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Department for Cultural Relations and Jean-Pierre Angremy, French Foreign Ministry director-general for cultural and scientific-technical relations, in the presence of Foreign Ministers Bohuslav Chnoupek and Roland Dumas.

The document creates conditions for the extension of the two countries' languages as well as for better knowledge of the Czech and Slovak culture in France and the French culture in Czechoslovakia. On the basis of the accord, Czechoslovakia and France will exchange textbooks, magazines, pamphlets and audiovisual materials.

Received by Husak

LD1509174088 Prague CTK in English
1606 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas agreed today that tangible progress has been made in relations between the two countries.

They expressed interest in the further development and reinvigoration of mutually beneficial contacts in all spheres.

In an exchange of views on the present international situation they welcomed the results of Soviet-U.S. talks and stressed the importance of political dialogue and cooperation between countries having different social systems, which helps improve the overall international situation and ease tensions in the world. They agreed that all problems between countries and nations must be solved by political means.

Discusses Ties With Jakes

LD1609204688 Prague CTK in English
1527 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 16 (CTK)—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said at his meeting with Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes here today that his visit confirms the interest of the present French government in the development of cooperation with Czechoslovakia and the socialist countries. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 September on page 1 carries a 250-word CTK report which renders the preceding sentence as follows: "In the course of a friendly and frank talk, R. Dumas said that his visit confirmed the interest of the present French government in the development of cooperation with the CSSR and the socialist countries."]

Milos Jakes and Roland Dumas discussed some topical questions of the present international situation, mainly the political development in Europe, evaluating the state and prospects of the development of the two countries' relations, the use of modern forms of economic and scientific-technological cooperation, as well as some concrete proposals for cooperation in industry, transport, communications and nuclear energy.

The two representatives agreed that there are favourable prerequisites for reaching further progress in mutual relations and for the development of mutually advantageous, all-round cooperation.

Milos Jakes voiced full support for the development of a political dialogue between the two countries in the interest of strengthening the hopeful development of the international situation and detente in the world.

[The same RUDE PRAVO report notes that a reception was given for Roland Dumas, and that "The reception was attended by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs. Jacques Humann, French ambassador to the CSSR, and Mecislav Jablonsky, CSSR ambassador to France, were also present."]

Dumas Comments on Talks

LD1709164188 Paris Domestic Service in French 1500 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] [French] Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who is on an official visit to the CSSR, said in Prague today that his presence would open up the possibility of a summit meeting, which would be the first in the history of Franco-Czechoslovak relations. The foreign minister said that during his meetings with the highest Czechoslovak state, government, and party figures, he had reasserted France's attachment to respect for human rights and freedoms, and affirmed that he had noted progress and developments in this area.

Commentary Views 'Fruitful' Visit

LD1809222988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Lubos Taraba reflects in the following commentary about the course and results of the visit to Czechoslovakia by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas:

[Taraba] These were 3 fruitful days. It was confirmed that Roland Dumas followed up, as he had said before his visit to Prague, on the dialogue he began here during his first visit in 1985. Moreover, during the past 3 years, many things in Europe have changed for the better and thus it is no wonder that France should be reassing its views on the development of relations between the East and West. The fact that the head of French diplomacy arrived in a socialist country a mere 4 months after taking up his post at the Foreign Ministry is proof of the change in thinking in the capital on the Seine.

Czechoslovak-French relations have a great tradition. However, one cannot live in the past. While a number of West European countries have already discerned the positive trends leading to an improvement in the European-wide climate, France has realized this later. The internal political situation played a certain role here when the Jacques Chirac coalition replaced the Socialists in the government. The key factor, however, is that President Francois Mitterrand has turned the policy toward the socialist states into one of the four main principles of his foreign-political program for his second term in office.

The visit of the French foreign minister to our country has brought further important impulses for the development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and France in all areas, beginning with politics and ending with culture. Other possiblities, too, have been outlined. Bilateral relations would certainly be enhanced if Prague became the venue of a visit by both the prime minister and the president of the French Republic. During the entire 70 years of the existence of the Czechoslovak state, such a journey has not yet been undertaken.

The all-European dialogue must rest on firm foundations. Bilateral relations are one of such factor. Our continent, however, urgently needs further concrete results in the field of disarmament—a greater security with a lesser number of weapons. Roland Dumas confirmed that France favors an early start to the conference on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals. However, he remained silent about the fact that France continues to literally hold on its own nuclear means. Nuclear arms, however, are not the only thing that make a country a truly great power, which is what France would like to be. After all, the term detente—relaxation—is of French origin.

The French minister expressed the sense that his country favors an open and active dialogue. Czechoslovak foreign policy also pursues this objective. If Roland Dumas' statements about the need to reappraise France's policy is followed, as L'HUMANITE has said, by deeds, then his visit to Czechoslovakia can signal the beginning of a new stage in Czechoslovak-French relations.

Baden-Wuerttemberg's Spaeth Meets With Strougal

LD1609094088 Prague CTK in English 1604 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today Minister-President of Baden-Wuerttemberg Lothar Spaeth.

Their talks focused on economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany in view of the important role of Baden-Wuerttemberg in these relations.

The two representatives exchanged views on further orientation of cooperation and agreed that it is necessary to concentrate on modern forms of cooperation, mainly in industry, on the exchange of people and experiences from management and on support for effective mutually advantageous actions.

Lubomir Strougal acquainted the guest with the character of the present political and economic changes in Czechoslovakia and called for active cooperation in all directions.

Lothar Spaeth spoke about the interest of his government in the extension of relations, in their dynamic and modern character as it understands the future of economic cooperation in Europe as a whole. That is why it has a natural interest in close cooperation in the neighbourhood.

Present were Czechoslovak Minister of Metallurgy, Engineering and Electrical Engineering Ladislav Gerle and West German Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Werner Schattmann whose work in Czechoslovakia and personal merits for the development of relations with West Germany were highly appreciated by Lubomir Strougal at the end of the meeting.

Notes Cooperation With Jakes

LD1609094588 Prague CTK in English 1929 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 15 (CTK)—Minister-President of Baden-Wuerttemberg Lothar Spaeth was received here today by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes.

Lothar Spaeth expressed interest in the extension of cooperation, mainly in the economic and scientific-technological sphere, so that it corresponds with the level and needs of effective development of the two countries' economies. He stressed that there are new possibilities especially for cooperation of small and medium West German and Czechoslovak enterprises.

Milos Jakes appreciated successfully developing economic cooperation and stressed Czechoslovakia's interest in its further extension. Both legal and organizational conditions are being gradually created for the development of modern forms of economic cooperation with West German firms, he said.

Milos Jakes pointed out that the improvement of the international climate and bilateral political will significantly contributed to the development of the two countries' relations. Economic cooperation as well as the development of contacts in all other spheres with West Germany and its lands suppose mutual confidence and good-neighbour relations of the two countries, he stressed.

Strougal Receives Head of FRG Firm BASF

LD1409220488 Prague CTK in English 1554 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Prague, Sept 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal today received Hans Albers, president of the West German BASF company. They exchanged views on cooperation between Czechoslovak chemical enterprises and the BASF company and agreed that experiences gained to date allow for its expansion with modern forms. Cooperation and joint ventures are to significantly influence the volume of the exchanges of chemical products between the two countries.

Lubomir Strougal asked that the experiences of BASF be also used in ecological programs. Hans Albers stressed that his second trip to a Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member state was taking him to Czechoslovakia where his company intended to follow up the domestic industrial tradition, the achieved results of cooperation and at the same time to make use of the geographic neighbourhood of the two countries. He spoke in favour of an all-round cooperation which can bring unprecedented results in a short time.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

AU1609162788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Receiving the Chairman of the Firm BASF"]

[Excerpts] Prague—CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal received Hans Albers, chairman of the board of the BASF company, in Hrzan Palace in Prague on Wednesday [14 September]. [passage omitted]

On the same day the representatives of BASF, headed by the firm's chairman of the board, Hans Albers, were received by Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development (SKVTIR). They assessed the possibilities of mutual scientific-technical cooperation, above all in reducing power consumption in chemical processes, in the development and production of sound and video recording devices, as well as in ecology and agriculture.

At the conclusion of their negotiations, Hans Albers and Vladimir Lexa, first deputy chairman of SKVTIR, signed an agreement on scientific-technical cooperation between BASF and SKVTIR.

Presidium Discusses Husak Trip to PRC, DPRK

AU1909101988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Stand Adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the CSSR President's Visit to the PRC and DPRK"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the course and results of the official friendly visit paid by Comrade Gustav Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR president, to the PRC and DPRK from 3 to 12 September 1988.

The Presidium stated that the PRC visit followed up the results of negotiations conducted by Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, in May 1988 with leading Chinese representatives. It also confirmed the interest of both sides in continuing their fruitful and constructive political dialogue, searching for and bringing about an effective and mutually advantageous cooperation, and in expanding collaboration in the spheres of science, culture, and education as well as other sectors of common interest.

In discussing the results of the talks in the DPRK, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium stated that the Czechoslovak party and state delegation's visit to the DPRK was a continuation of the lively dialogue conducted to date, which made it possible to exchange topical information about the domestic-political and economic development in the two countries, and that it contributed toward intensifying mutual friendship and cooperation.

In line with the results of negotiations, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium spoke in favor of further developing mutual economic cooperation on the basis of consistently implementing the conclusions of the Sixth Session of the Intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Korean Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, and it expressed full support for the DPRK proposals on a political settlement of the situation on the Korean peninsula.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium instructed party agencies and the communists in state agencies to elaborate the conclusions from the negotiations and talks, and to adopt specific methods to provide for their implementation by the appropriate institutions.

Observers To Attend 'Free Lion' Maneuvers

LD1709015688 Prague CTK in English 1604 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovak observers will attend the manoeuvres "Free Lion" on September 17-23 in harmony with the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

The joint manoeuvres of the Armies of the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and the United States started today on West German territory, and will last till September 24.

Briefs

Harvest in South Moravia

Vlcnov (CTK)—Frantisek Pitra and Vladimir Herman, candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, attended the fifth South Moravian regional aktiv meeting of cereal growers held in Vlcnov in the Uherske Hradiste District. It was stated there that this year's harvest in the region amounted to 107.7 percent of the planned production, i.e. 1,878,054 tonnes of grain (the biggest harvest in the history of socialist agriculture), and that the average yields were 5.33 tonnes per hectare. [Summary] [*AU1909102088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 88 p 1*]

New Technical Magazine

Prague Sept 15 (CTK)—A new specialized magazine TECHNICAL TRENDS will appear in Czechoslovakia on January next year. Representatives of the publishers, the Czechoslovak advertising agency Rapid, the State Commission for Scientific and Technical Development and Investments and the West German Verlags and Vertriebsgesellschaft (VVB), told a press meeting today that the magazine will inform readers about the latest offer of machinery, equipment and high technologies in West European industrial countries. The magazine with colour photographs will appear four times a year in 7,000 copies. [Text] [*LD1609030688 Prague CTK in English 1254 GMT 15 Sep 88 LD*]

Locomotives to USSR

The representatives of the Prague Skodaexport and Mashinoimport Moscow foreign trade enterprises have signed a Kcs0.5-billion contract for the delivery of a large series of Skoda 82-E electric locomotives to the USSR. [Summary] [*AU2009141188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Sep 88 p 2 AU*]

Further on Visit of Denmark's Schlueter

Honecker Offers Toast

AU1509142788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Sep 88 pp 3, 4

[Toast proposed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a dinner in honor of Poul Schlueter, prime minister of the Kingdom of Denmark, in Berlin on 13 September: "Peace Requires Actions by Forces of Reason"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends and comrades:

Mr Prime Minister, it is a great pleasure for me to once again most cordially welcome you and your entourage to the GDR. Our meeting is taking place at an eventful and extremely significant time. Decisions of great importance for the future of mankind must be made. This requires responsible action by all forces of reason and realism.

From this point of view, it is natural for the safeguarding of peace, limiting arms, and disarmament to be the central topic of the talks. I can point out with satisfaction our shared conviction that further stimuli must be given to the cause of disarmament and peace, confidence and security. Above all, what is needed is a 50-percent reduction in the strategic nuclear weapons of the USSR and the United States. What is needed is a ban on all nuclear tests and the elimination of chemical weapons.

Niels Bohr's Appeal More Topical Than Before [subhead]

Through the joint commitment to averting a nuclear inferno and to ensuring the survival of mankind through immediate disarmament, we pay tribute to the legacy of the great son of the Danish people, the internationally respected nuclear physicist Niels Bohr. Nearly 10 years ago, in his "open letter to the United Nations" in view of the nuclear threat to mankind, he demanded that "comprehensive ways and means again be sought to jointly avert the deadly dangers for civilization and to ensure that scientific progress be used for the lasting benefit of mankind." Today this appeal is more topical than ever. It expresses the convincing logic of the nuclear age.

Elimination of All Nuclear Weapons Is the Declared Goal of the GDR and Its Allies [subhead]

The elimination of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe through the complete liquidation of all nuclear weapons is the declared goal of the GDR. The first step into a future without nuclear weapons was taken with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The GDR contributed actively to the treaty's coming into being and immediately undertook the necessary legislative steps for its implementation on its territory. It supported the early withdrawal of Soviet missiles from its territory with many initiatives.

The scrapping of the ultramodern intermediate-range missiles, which has meanwhile been initiated, confirms my view that worldwide disarmament through joint efforts by all forces of reason and realism is not only necessary but also possible. Let me again assure you in this connection that the GDR will do everything in its power and encourage all initiatives to ensure that further significant disarmament steps will now follow. It is thus pursuing the intention of strengthening and rendering irreversible the positive trends that have become discernible in international developments.

What Has Been Achieved Must Not Be Destroyed by Arms Buildup in Other Spheres [subhead]

At their recent Warsaw meeting, the Warsaw Pact states submitted a comprehensive and realistic program for the continuation of disarmament in all spheres and for raising European and international security. Disparities should be eliminated through disarmament, not through counterarmament. It must not be permitted for what has been achieved to be destroyed by modernization and increased arms buildup in other spheres.

Like the other Warsaw Pact states, the GDR resolutely opposes adherence to "nuclear deterrence" because, among other things, this hinders progress on the path of disarmament and imprisons the peoples in the vicious circle of the arms race. The dangerous concept of "security through arms buildup" can and must be replaced by the principle of security through controlled mutual disarmament and cooperation.

Security Possible Only Through Cooperation [subhead]

If insight is growing everywhere that security is today no longer possible against each other but only with each other, this can only be conducive to the constructive mastering of the most urgent problems. The proposals of the Warsaw Pact states to create a comprehensive system of world peace and international security are characterized by these principles. The GDR is open to cooperation and is ready to seek mutually acceptable solutions together with all states and peoples.

I am deeply convinced that even regional measures can be confidence-building. Here I would like to refer to the proposal by the GDR and CSSR to negotiate the setting up of a chemical-weapon-free zone and a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe. Together with the proposals for creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe and similar efforts in the Balkans, a cordon of reduced military confrontation may be established on our continent.

The same goal is also served by the joint proposal of the SED and SPD for the creation of a "zone of trust and security in central Europe." The GDR is ready to start immediate negotiations with the governments of the states of the region.

Our ideal is a nuclear-free world. The Berlin "international meeting on nuclear-free zones" clearly demonstrates how many forces of different political positions are united in the demand to ban nuclear weapons forever.

Permanent Place for Confidence and Good-Neighborliness [subhead]

The GDR supports a "common European home" in which reason, trust, and good-neighborliness have a permanent place. It should be a home that is open to all who have good intentions. We regard the Helsinki Final Act and the CSCE documents based on it as a foundation for that home. It is strengthened through the relations between CEMA and the EC, the establishment of which was supported by Denmark.

At the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, possibilities are emerging for solving the issues that are still unsettled. We are in favor of concluding the Vienna CSCE meeting at the foreign-minister level. In this way, given responsibility and a sense of realism by all, the negotiations on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals and on new confidence-building measures can begin in 1988.

The qualitatively new forms and content of cooperation on economic, scientific-technological, humanitarian, and human rights questions already agreed upon in Vienna can then be put into effect for the benefit of peace and of the peoples. We welcome the follow-up measures envisaged for this, including the convening of meetings on the so-called humanitarian dimension of the CSCE in Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow. The main concern of these conferences should be to advance the right of people to live in freedom, and the full realization of political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights in their totality and mutual interdependence.

Today's talks have made it clear that we share the concern over the threat to world peace arising from the hotbeds of conflict and tension. We are in favor of solving contentious issues and conflicts—no matter how complicated they are—through negotiations. It should be possible to arrive at acceptable compromises by adopting a sincere approach toward problems and by taking into account the legitimate interests of all sides concerned. We are following with satisfaction the intensive efforts that are currently being carried out to achieve political solutions while involving all those concerned. We support them wherever we can.

Positive Balance Sheet of Cooperation [subhead]

Your official visit to the GDR represents an outstanding event in the traditionally good relations between our states. Thus, a new chapter has been opened in the book of these relations, and the spirit of good-neighborliness has been strengthened.

During our talks, we drew up a positive balance sheet on the development of cooperation between the GDR and the Kingdom of Denmark. The political contacts between high-ranking representatives of the governments, parliaments, political parties, and organizations testify to this.

Economic cooperation, to which both sides want to attach even more importance, has been characterized by the positive development of trade and economic relations. It has been boosted through quality-oriented participation in major investment projects, such as our ferry boat under construction in your shipyards. In addition, I would like to mention the contractual regulation of relations in the most varied spheres.

It is becoming increasingly clear that mutually fruitful cooperation is not only necessary but also useful for the neighboring states that are not separated but rather linked by the Baltic Sea. It helps build confidence, promotes peace, and brings benefit to both sides. In addition to this, we stated that even complicated issues can be resolved on the basis of mutual respect in the interest of both sides, if reason and realism prevail on both sides. The treaty on the demarcation of the continental shelf and fishery zones concluded between the GDR and Denmark testifies to this.

Mr Prime Minister, you may rest assured that the GDR attaches great importance to relations with Denmark and the other Nordic countries. This is because, being our direct neighbors, they influence developments in central and northern Europe. Our relations reflect the historic ties that have grown over the centuries. The overlapping of mutual interests is more apparent than ever before.

In this spirit, we have agreed to continue bilateral dialogue in various forms. Good preconditions exist on both sides for expanding economic cooperation to our mutual advantage and benefit. The GDR will continue to do everything possible to promote the steady and long-term stable development of trade and economic relations with Denmark. In our view, prospects are good for further strengthening the contractual foundations between the GDR and Denmark, for intensifying contacts in numerous spheres, and for increasing the cultural exchange between our countries. Therefore, let us confidently tackle the solution of new tasks.

Mr Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends and comrades:

I ask you to raise your glasses and drink with me to:

—the fruitful development of good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the Kingdom of Denmark,

—the peaceful future of mankind,

—your personal well-being, Mr Minister President,

—the well-being of all those present.

Honecker Addresses Danish Newsmen

LD1509104988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1205 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Sep (ADN)—After the signing of the documents between the GDR and Denmark at the official headquarters of the GDR State Council, Danish journalists made use of the opportunity to question Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. Asked about his talks with Prime Minister Schluter, the GDR State Council chairman said that they agreed on a series of questions, for example, from a political perspective for the continuation of their dialogue, particularly in the sphere of preserving peace. They also reached agreements with reference to expanding trade relations, Erich Honecker said. At the concluding meeting it became clear that trade will continue to develop to the great benefit of both sides, which is very important for the development of relations between the GDR and Denmark.

Asked about the content of the talks, Erich Honecker stressed the good-neighborly relations with Denmark: We have stressed that the Baltic Sea does not separate us but rather links us. A whole series of questions has been discussed, both in the security policy sphere and with regard to the development of relations, especially economic and scientific-technical cooperation. I would like to say, Erich Honecker noted, that the visit was of extreme importance and very effective. We constructively approached all issues up for negotiation.

Honecker Sees Off Guest 14 Sep

LD1509105388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1559 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Sep (ADN)—Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter ended his official 2-day visit to the GDR this evening.

He was bidden a cordial farewell at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. Other members of the GDR party and state leadership were present. A military ceremony took place in honor of the guest.

Honecker Praises Computer Development Team

LD1209163888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1136 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 12 Sep (ADN)—The first 1-megabit memory circuits produced in the GDR were today given to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, by a team from the Carl-Zeiss Jena Combine. Prof Dr Wolfgang Biermann, director-general of the combine and member of the SED Central Committee, said that a base has now been established in the GDR to gradually prepare the mass production of such memory circuits. This scientific-technological top achievement was attained by the VEB [state-owned firm] Research Center Microelectronics Dresden of the Carl-Zeiss Jena Combine in close research cooperation with establishments of the GDR Academy of Sciences and of universities in the short period of only 2 years. The obligation entered into with the party has thus been redeemed.

Erich Honecker thanked Prof Dr Biermann and the members of the development team present for the presentation of the 1-megabit memory circuit. Your achievements, he said, are an outstanding contribution to the race against time.

They are convincing proof that the GDR will maintain in the future its position as a developed industrial country. The unity of economic and social policy, which is the basis in our country for the further shaping of the advanced socialist society, and its results, such as the 1-megabit memory circuit presented by the development team, demonstrate that socialism is capable of further developing the creative potential of the people.

It has again been shown that socialism as worked out by Marx and Engels and scientifically explained, and looking at all the aspects of social life, is far superior to capitalism. Erich Honecker said it is idle to debate whether or how the class struggle is currently taking place.

The founders of scientific socialism said clearly and openly that they could take no credit for having discovered the class struggle. Classes and the class struggle already previously existed. Rather, they said, we can take credit for having discovered the laws of the class struggle. They have shown that this struggle, conducted by the party of the working class, leads finally to the power of the working class, and that thus, the door for a new social order, socialism, is being opened.

Your deed, Erich Honecker said, is a great contribution to the development of the productive forces, for the strengthening of socialism, for increasing the prosperity of the masses. It makes plain that the working class, in alliance with the farmers, in alliance with the intelligentsia, under the leadership of its party, is certainly capable of leading a modern socialist society.

The development of the productive forces and the perfecting of the social conditions in socialism mean full employment and prosperity for the people. I would like to express my sincere thanks on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers, to all those involved in the 1-megabit memory circuit research complex.

Further on Honecker Remarks

LD1409223588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1629 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Berlin, 12 Sep (ADN)—The handing over of the first 1-megabit memory circuits produced in the GDR was followed by an animated conversation. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker stressed the extraordinary significance of the handing over of the circuits. He reminded those present of a statement made some time ago by FRG scientists that if the FRG did not get into the forefront of developments in microelectronics, that it would be out of the running internationally.

The fundamental importance of microelectronics for economic strategy in a developed industrial country such as the GDR made the Central Committee Politburo decide to give broad support to the development of this key technology, said Erich Honecker. In all some 14 billion marks of investment have already been put into the development of microelectronics, an enormous achievement by the GDR economy.

From today's point of view one could say that this was necessary and is important, Erich Honecker said. We have always been convinced that the comrades and colleagues working on the program for the development of microelectronics are fulfilling their tasks for the benefit of the workers' and peasants' power. Today was the day when the project was concluded by the scientists with the early completion of the first sample. This is a great achievement and I ask that you pass on to all who worked on it the thanks and recognition of the SED Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers, the general secretary said.

He wanted to say two things about what had emerged from their discussion. For one thing, it is important to put the new circuit into production quickly. For another, further steps must be taken toward the next level of technology. To achieve both aims we will ally ourselves very closely to our Soviet partners, Erich Honecker stressed. The GDR exhibition which is to open in Moscow in September will be a good opportunity for this. All this serves the aim of a high increase in labor productivity, in order further to consolidate the international position of the GDR as a modern industrial state and to secure a high standard of living for the people. Particularly for this reason, the achievement of the research collective deserves great social recognition.

Guenter Mittag said that the 11th SED Congress had decided on an economic strategy looking consciously forward to the year 2000. He referred to the decision made after the party congress to develop the Jena Combine into a center for high technologies and to particularly concentrate on the creation of highly integrated components and the technological conditions for their production. The Dresden microelectronics research center is also incorporated into the combine. This created a unity of research, technology, and production. Cooperation between research and production is implemented as an important factor for productivity.

It is a considerable achievement that the GDR today can produce for itself components with 125-mm silicon sheets, Mittag said. He referred to the 125-mm sheet, which had also been handed over. This permits a much higher rate of productivity than with the 100-mm sheet. New plastics are also coming into use. From metallurgy through chemistry to component producers, a whole economic complex has now come into being in which the Academy of Sciences and higher education institutions are actively collaborating in close cooperation. One of its results is the production of powerful computers which have allowed embargoes to be broken.

The example of the Carl-Zeiss Jena Combine shows what can be achieved on an economic scale by the concentration of resources and the central control of this complex. The most recent Leipzig Fair has shown, among other things, that wherever in engineering there is the integration of high-quality microelectronics, good sales and a good economy result. Speaking of the Jena Combine, Guenter Mittag urged that the knowledge and possibilities gained from the development and production of microelectronics be exploited even more intensively for the production of high-quality consumer goods. [passage omitted]

At the end of the discussion, Erich Honecker reaffirmed that no limits had been set on creative initiative. The discussion had underlined the fact that it is a matter of good fortune that those involved had been given a free hand in their work, which they performed around the clock, in the truest sense of the phrase. They had been able to concentrate fully on their work.

The relevant specialist literature shows what difficulties the FRG is having in this sector, said Erich Honecker. It bemoaned dependence on the technological level of overseas countries. If all forces are not brought together and there is not the appropriate support from the government, then, it is being said there, some 90 percent of the necessary circuits will have to be imported. No one knows exactly how much of this is pure propaganda to obtain greater funding from the government, but basically what the specialist literature is saying is true, that such a highly industrialised country and such an important engineering exporter needs its own modern microelectronics.

Against this background the GDR's achievement in this sector cannot be praised too highly.

Broad opportunities for practical application must be created in the economy so that what has been invested in the development of microelectronics will bring dividends. In the final analysis what matters is achieving a clear increase in labor productivity, which is the decisive factor in the economic competition between the two social systems. Our superiority arises from the social component of our society: The priority is the further development of the people's standard of living, and this also involves freeing more labor for other tasks in the economy. Thus we must support all the conclusions reached in the discussion. Erich Honecker reaffirmed the firm intention of the GDR's party and state leadership to continue promoting the development of microelectronics in accordance with its economic importance. In conclusion, the general secretary said that everyone would be waiting expectantly to hear what new achievement the GDR microelectronics engineers will be announcing on the 40th anniversary of the GDR in the year 1989.

FRG Official on Joint Transit Agreements

LD1509210588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn 14 Sep (ADN)—The director of the Federal Chancellor's Office, Federal Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble, stated the following at a Federal news conference on 14 September 1988:

In talks with the GDR Government, fundamental agreement was achieved on the following pending questions:

1. The flat charge to be paid by the FRG in accordance with Article 18, paragraph 1 of the transit agreement of 17 December 1971 is set at DM 860 million per year for the years 1990 to 1999.

2. The GDR will construct in the Grossbeeren area a border crossing point between the GDR and Berlin (West), as well as a highway feeder road to the Berliner Ring, and will carry out a fundamental renovation of a stage of the Berliner Ring.

The new border crossing point will open 1 January 1994 for transit traffic encompassed by the transit agreement, as well as for all other types of traffic.

There is agreement that DM 30 million from the flat charge will be paid annually for the years 1990 to 1999, and that this is to be viewed as the FRG's share of the financial burdens occasioned by these measures.

3. The GDR will carry out out fundamental renovation work in the years 1990 to 1999 on large sections of the Berlin-Hof and Berlin-Herleshausen transit highways, and for this it will use DM 30 million annually from the flat charge set for this period.

4. The flat charge to be paid by the FRG in accordance with the protocol of 31 December 1979 on the single-sum settlement of road-use fees for passenger vehicles is set for the years 1990 to 1999 at DM 55 million annually.

5. It is foreseen in the settlement of the mutually achieved performances in passenger railway traffic between the FRG and the GDR—not including transit traffic between the FRG and Berlin (West)—that, beginning with the year 1988 and initially up to 31 December 1992, the amount of the deficit account of the Deutsche Reichsbahn [East German railway] which exceeds 35 million units of account annually will be borne by both sides at 50 percent each.

Both sides assume that the agreement achieved on the cited complexes will favorably influence the further development of overall relations, including the solution of other pending questions.

Evangelical Synod Urges Greater 'Tolerance'

LD1709095988 Hamburg DPA in German 1529 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Dessau (DPA)—The Evangelical Church in the GDR has issued a reminder about greater legal security and tolerance in the state's dealings with citizens. In a report by the leadership of the Federation of GDR Churches presented to the synod on Friday [16 September] at the start of 5 days of deliberations in Dessau, reference is made to problems in the state's dealings with citizens. "Understanding, tolerance, and legal security as part of the quality of life must be the standard for behavior" here. There were still too often "rash administrative actions and unreasonable decisions." Criticism was only barely tolerated and "often, and all too quickly, interpreted as an expression of hostility to the state."

On the problem of exit applications, the report stressed that the church's unmistakable and obvious signs of impatience from those wishing to emigrate nevertheless raised the question of the reasons for it and how to deal with them." The report also refers to the various state acts of intervention in the church press in recent months. These interventions have led to "considerable disquiet" among readers.

The refusal for informative talks between the state and the church on issues of military service, education, and state dealings with citizens was met with "disappointment." At the start of the synod, President Rainer Gaebler assessed the ban imposed by the GDR Foreign Ministry on FRG television and radio correspondents filming or recording the proceedings as "inappropriate and regrettable." State offices were in vain asked to reverse this decision.

State's 'Intervention' Cited

LD1809142488 Hamburg DPA in German 1236 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Dessau (DPA)—The GDR authorities have again interfered in Evangelical Church papers on a massive scale and prohibited the circulation of this week's Dresden-based church paper 'DER SONNTAG'. Regional Bishop of Saxony Johannes Hempel reported to the synod of the Evangelical Church Federation in Dessau on Sunday [18 September] that the reason for this intervention was so trivial that he has reached the limits of his "capacity to understand" the concerns of the state. Publication of next week's 'SONNTAG' has also been halted. It was said in Dessau that reports about everyday problems such as queuing in shops was the reason for the intervention.

Regional Bishop of Mecklenburg Christoph Stier also told the synod about state censorship of the 'MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG,' the most recent edition of which was subjected to a number of changes. The paper was, for example, unable to report the introduction of civilian alternative military service in Poland. There was a complaint about a preview of the ecumenical gathering in Magdeburg in early October to be published in next week's edition; moreover, the official church gazette in Magdeburg was distributed [as received] because of an article on the concept of the "church in socialism."

Prior to the two bishops, a number of speakers told the church federation's synod of repeated intervention since the spring by the state press office in the Evangelical Church in the GDR. Other prominent themes included the problem of exit visas and travel to the West; questions related to military service, premilitary training of pupils and students, and wishes for an alternative civilian military service; the disappointment of young people, particularly about the social situation; and teachers' frustrations concerning the educational system.

Leaders Discuss Social Issues

LD1909031488 Hamburg DPA in German 2250 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Dessau (DPA)—The leadership of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR is calling for a society with a "human face." Werner Leich, church federation chairman and bishop of Thuringia, on Sunday evening told the synod that the GDR needs "a society which has a human face in everyday life." The synod is meeting in Dessau to debate a report by the church leadership. At the same time, he called for a "new orientation in the GDR's whole media policy." Adults must be trusted to make their own decisions. Reports were given during the discussions on Sunday on continued massive censorship of church newspapers by the state authorities.

Regarding the numerous applications to emigrate made by GDR citizens, which were also repeatedly touched on in the discussion, Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the church federation and president of the East Berlin Consistory, expressed the view that this problem cannot be solved quickly. In the long term, however, "moving from the GDR to the Federal Republic and vice versa should be a normal and regular occurrence." The reasons for applications to emigrate do not lie with the state leadership alone. It is too simple "to expect immediate solutions from determined steps to reform alone," because the emigration problem is one of the war's unresolved burdens on Germany.

In a short discussion on a motion on questions of "internal social dialogue" and "internal social isolation [abgrenzung] [no closing quotation mark as received], Stolpe referred to a "dialogue shortfall" in the GDR. East Berlin Bishop Gottfried Forck called for young people to be spoken to in such a way "that they are taken seriously as partners in dialogue." He gave the example of the school which educates people to be subjects. Those who adapt are successful while the others are "pushed to one side."

Gen Kessler Addresses Meeting of Commanders

LD1709101288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1139 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 16 Sep (ADN)—In the struggle for peace, a positive development could be registered in everything to which the GDR had actively contributed with its constructive policy of peace and dialogue. This was stressed by Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Politburo and GDR minister for national defense, on Friday at a commanders' meeting in the Ministry for National Defense in front of generals, admirals, and officers of the NVA [National People's Army] and the GDR border troops and civil defense bodies. He affirmed the determination of the GDR Armed Forces to work together effectively in this process in the future as well.

Kessler pointed to the realization of the commitments contained in the Stockholm Conference document on trust- and confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. The obligations arising from this are being consistently fulfilled by the GDR and the NVA, but further efforts and steps are required to advance disarmament and trust-building continuously.

Heinz Kessler assessed the good results of the people's soldiers in political and combat training, operational service, and combat and border service, as an expression of their determination to always guarantee defense readiness at the required level. He said it was the supreme aim of all efforts to conscientiously and at all times fulfill the task affirmed by the 11th SED Congress in close cooperation with the Soviet Armed Forces and the other fraternal armies.

Sindermann To Visit Strasbourg, EC 12-14 Oct

LD1909222688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1713 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn, 19 Sep (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, is to visit the European Parliament in Strasbourg 12-14 October at the invitation of the socialist parliamentary group. This was announced today in Bonn by a press spokesman for EC politics in the SPD Executive Council.

It was pointed out that this would be the first visit by a high-ranking official from a CMEA state since official relations between the EC and CMEA were established.

Briefs

SED, SPD Officials Meet

In accordance with an agreement reached by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Hans-Jochen Vogel, SPD chairman, a meeting between SED and SPD representatives to prepare an exchange of information and views at the local- government level took place in Berlin on 12 and 13 September. The two sides agreed that the SED and the SPD will begin their exchange of information and views on the future of the towns and the citizens and on possibilities for town twinning between the GDR and FRG in the spring of 1989 in the FRG. [Summary] [*AU1509141188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Sep 88 p 2 AU*]

New Lasers Developed

Gera, 18 Sep (ADN)—New carbon dioxide lasers have been developed by the Institute of Physical Technology at the Academy of Sciences in Jena. These lasers achieve 5 kilowatts with a laser beam diameter of 4 cm. Institute experts say that lasers meeting this specification have not up to now been commercially available in the CMEA zone. Such lasers are required for many sectors of industry. [Summary] [*LD1909000188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2330 GMT 17 Sep 88 LD*]

Daily Rejects DPRK Criticism on ROK Ties

LD2109101688 Budapest MTI in English
0659 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—"NEPSZABADSAG", the central daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, carries in its Wednesday issue a commentary entitled "Solidarity and Reality"

The commentary says, "The Hungarian decision to agree to mutually opening permanent representations with the Republic of Korea drew sharp criticism from NODONG SINMUN, the central organ of the Korean Workers' Party. Yesterday we reported on the publication of the article which accuses Hungary of 'betraying the principles of proletarian internationalism'. The article, which abounds in qualifications to the same effect, was widely covered by radio stations which are generally far from providing objective information on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

"This kind of reaction to the Hungarian move is, to put it mildly, extremely regrettable. Everybody in knowledge of the diplomatic events of recent decades could see that Hungary supports the peaceful, democratic reunification of Korea free from external interference and all relevant proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. There was no U.N. General Assembly or diplomatic forum without the Hungarian delegate taking a stand for this. That conduct is a concomitant of our policy in the same way as the helping hand lent by Hungarian physicians to the wounded soldiers of People's Korea during the war.

"Our policy is also characterized by openness to changes in the world and readiness to face facts. The Republic of Korea is existent and an increasingly important trading partner to several socialist countries in Europe and Asia. Otherwise the Democratic People's Republic of Korea also starts from the realities of the Korean peninsula when addressing a range of proposals to Seoul. The history of the past decades shows that failure to establish relations or the breaking of ties is beneficial neither for the concerned states nor for any coalition. Dialogue, even if manifest in debate, is more favourable than the lack of contacts, which always carries the danger of confrontation. The exchange of representations has never meant automatic approval of the home and foreign political moves of the other side. A realistic judgement of processes makes it clear that we are proceeding towards an international order increasingly characterized by institutional relations as a result of interdependence. This order will not know a complete lack of ties, and some kind of contact will be self-evident, directed against nobody and serving the cause of universal stability.

"Budapest considers that realism based on national interests is not incompatible with internationalism and will shape its policy accordingly," says "NEPSZABADSAG"

Grosz To Visit France 'Mid-November'

AU2009170688 Paris AFP in English
1624 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Paris, Sept 20 (AFP)—Hungarian leader Karoly Grosz is to make an official visit to France in mid-November, informed sources said here Tuesday.

France is currently trying to develop its relations with East European countries as part of a new "policy to the East", French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said during a visit to Prague last week.

Marjai Holds Economic Talks in USSR, Returns

LD1709013988 Budapest MTI in English
1439 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, September 16 (MTI)—Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, minister of trade, and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental committee for economic, technical and scientific cooperation, held talks with Aleksey Antonov, deputy prime minister and Soviet co-chairman of the committee, and Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations.

It was established that this year Hungarian-Soviet trade turnover developed as envisaged. The sides held it necessary to take further measures to fully meet the mutual delivery obligations.

Jozsef Marjai and Aleksey Antonov surveyed preparations for the November session of the inter-governmental committee and the related tasks.

Jozsef Marjai and Konstantin Katushev signed an agreement under which Hungarian commercial sub-representations would be established in Leningrad, Kiev and Tbilisi.

Jozsef Marjai returned to Hungary on Friday [16 September].

SFRY Army Chief Arrives on Official Visit

LD1709211688 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the Yugoslav Armed Forces General Staff, has arrived on an official visit to Budapest. The purpose of the visit is to promote cooperation between the two neighboring countries' armies as part of developed relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary in all spheres. Gen Mirkovic will also visit some units and establishments of the Hungarian Armed Forces.

State Company Enters FRG Joint Venture

LD1909165388 Budapest MTI in English 1222 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 19, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—In an unprecedented move, a Hungarian state company has entered into a business partnership with private individuals.

The Vas County Food Trade Company, based in Szombathely, western Hungary, has contributed 70 percent of the one-million-forint (USD 19,000) capital of Carbon Ltd., which makes, renews and distributes office equipment materials and supplies. 30 per cent of the starting equity has been contributed by three private investors.

The FRG Graficor Company is providing the materials necessary for the renewal of 100,000 typewriter cassettes annually, and Carbon Ltd. is paying with commission work by assembling 20,000 cassettes from Graficor-provided components. Carbon hopes that in the future it will be able to develop further cooperation with the West German company and eventually set up a joint venture with it.

The Vas County Food Trade Company exchanges 50 million schillings' worth of goods annually with Austrian companies and operates two joint ventures with Austrian capital involvement in the packaging industry and in plastic waste recycling.

Grosz Visits Bearing Works, Meets Employees

LD1709222588 Budapest MTI in English 2131 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary and prime minister, visited the Hungarian bearing works. Managers of the factory showed him around in the plant of an annual 20 milion bearing capacity.

Following the factory visit Karoly Grosz met workers. During the one-hour conversation the workers asked Karoly Grosz about the problems facing the country and informed him on the experience of their everyday life. Mechanic Ilona Pincse spoke about the difficult situation of young people and the hopelessness of acquiring a home. Mihaly Marcsek complained about the personal income tax as he gets less money for the same amount of overtime work as last year, but at least he can work overtime. The workers also talked about the manpower management.

Karoly Grosz agreed with the workers that housing situation imposes heavy burden on young people, and said that the government is working to alleviate the situation. As regards personal taxation he underlined that the government is review [as received] the one-year experience of personal income tax and will modify it where necessary.

The brands of the personal income tax have to give incentives for work and not the opposite. Answering questions the prime minister spoke in details on the economic situation, the causes of inflation, the relations betwen the government and the grade unions, and the development in manpower situation. In this context he said that only two hundred people made use of the relocation support and unemployment currently regional and structural. [sentence as received]

Karoly Grosz expoused his opinion about the debate on the Nagymaros-Gabcikovo project. He said the today it is not an economic or environmental protection question but a political issue, it is used to undermine the credit of the leadership. He said that he is not for a referendum. It would not be correct to ask the opinion of citizens about a project that was decided upon 11 years ago. As the parliament approved the construction 11 years ago it would result in unforseeable consequences and a loss of prestige if the national assembly now would change its decision. On one hand we would lose what we have invested, and on the other hand the cancellation of the agreements signed with Czechoslovakia and Austrian companies would put heavy burden on the country. It would cost more than the completition of the construction.

Though, now, we would not launch the project because the money is needed in other areas, I would not say that we have cast away this money. We have to bear in mind that the country may face energy shortage in the 1990s, it is especially so as, due to the modification of plans, the 6th block of the Paks nuclear plant will not be operational by 1995 as planned. At the same time with this project we can get into contact with the Western European energy grid. A responsible government has to think ahead at least 6-7 years which is true also in this case.

Straub on Post, Multiparty System, Nagymaros Dam

LD1909032388 Budapest in Hungarian to Europe 1900 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] The Budapest paper HETI VILAGGAZDASAG carries an interview with Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, who was elected in June. Straub says he considers it important that a nonparty member holds this position. The renowned biochemist said that he, in the final instance, considers a multiparty system to be necessary, but it is not immediately timely. In the affair of the Boes-Nagymaros dam, he does not see any sense in holding a referendum, since there was not one earlier and contracts are already in force.

New Head of National Radio Interviewed

LD0609110088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1712 GMT 5 Sep 88

[From the "From the Horses Mouth" program; interview with Istvan Hajdu, president of Hungarian Radio, by unidentified reporter; in studio—live]

[Text] Istvan Hajdu, the new president of Hungarian Radio, took the official oath before Karoly Grosz last Thursday. He is sitting here in the studio.

[Reporter] Do you not consider it curious that you started your career here in Hungarian Radio with a ban? Last Monday we reported in our bulletins that at the Budapest party committee session you were relieved of your post, but we were not allowed to say, though everybody knew it, that you were to be appointed the new president of Hungarian Radio. Then, the following day, MAGYAR HIRLAP appeared, from which everybody learned it. Whereas we, how should I say it, were eaten up by bitterness that once again something was banned, forbidden to us.

[Hajdu] This situation reflected certain confusion. I am in the fortunate situation that I do not play any kind of directing role in the communiques and articles published about me. I can say it plainly, I do not decide or have a say in where and when such articles are published.

[Reporter] But it nevertheless already indicates something for you, that you will not have an easy job.

[Hajdu] Yes, I have at all events felt this.

[Reporter] Were you given the direction of Hungarian Radio as a party task?

[Hajdu] I think that if I have to answer this with yes and no—although this issue is a little complex, and so is the answer that can be devined behind it—but if I have to answer just with yes or no, then my answer is no. This is a state task. The work that is performed here is full of politics and political things—perhaps this latter is the most fortunate formulation; but there is considerably more in it, and its performance, for no matter whom, in no matter what post of the radio, but also for the president, and in the post of president, is a radio task that requires a complete person. From the moment I entered, this is the way I have understood my role.

[Reporter] The Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department has sent us the Central Committee's draft stand on political openness. In this document I read that in the case of Hungarian Radio, Television, and MTI, it is the government that exercises the founder's spheres of authority. The work of the leading body of radio and television has to be modernized. The all-societal interest has to be asserted in a principled, leading body, which in its activity does not infringe on the president's single responsibility, but which nevertheless does function. Could this be some kind of people's front body, with reference to the fact that Hungarian Radio is a national station? After all, we frequently use this expression national station, because there is one and because it belongs under the government's direction. At the same time, in the old terminology, the press and Hungarian Radio are also essential elements in the authority's stock of tools, though we do not often hear this said anymore.

[Hajdu] The radio is the government's radio, that is what the quote you just read out said, and that is how it is, as well. That is how it is in other countries, too. I think radio, however, fulfills its social role if it transmits social reality as faithfully as possible. This demands of the radio that it present many kinds of opinions. In accordance with this, in my view, a leading body, an advisory body, will have to be created that will be equipped to be a channel for such a multifaceted transmission of opinions.

[Reporter] Could this be a control on the president?

[Hajdu] At all events an advisor and a control of the president, which I stress, I consider to be good.

[Reporter] You have come to the head of an institution that in recent times was frequently given the label of opposition. Accusations of this kind have been levelled against it, and what is more even at very serious forums as well. Is it not your job to put a stop to this, or to make order?

[Hajdu] Well, I have been given no such task, in any kind of formulation, that is to say, even in a superimposed form. Before I was appointed, nearly everybody expressed the opinion that from a professional point of view Hungarian Radio is one of Europe's good radios. Now then, this is one side of the coin. The other side is that our current social reality could be described with many kinds of epithets; but if I say just one thing, then I will say that it is vexed [zaklatott]. I do not intend necessarily and unequivocally to suggest a negative mood, but I wished to intimate with the word vexed the changes and the conflicted nature of the changes. If we see this as such, and I do see it as such, then the work of mass communication will of necessity be such. Just as reality itself also divides opinions—some people raise it to the skies, others would like to, or try to push us under the ground, or under the water. This contradictory nature must be accepted by the person who works here.

[Reporter] The question is only whether radio has to help this vexedness or calm it down?

[Hajdu] Radio must transmit reality, it must help the citizens to find their way in the things of reality. To real problems we must raise real questions, which every sovereign individual can answer for himself, but for these same people one has to suggest possibilities of choice as well. There is no precision scale, and on this basis, on the basis of weighing up the sorrow and joy of what is transmitted, it is not possible to judge the work of such an institution nor the work of a reporter or editor.

[Reporter] We have the feeling that in recent times Hungarian press there has evolved a kind of competition, and we in the profession are naturally glad about this. If it is true that there is a kind of competition, then in recent times, we were, how should I say, the first to cross the finishing line in the case of two important

events. One was the Mecsek miners' strike, the other the democratic forum of Saturday. We were the first to give reports on both of them, if I may say, Hungarian press information followed us. I think that it is natural this way, for after all, we are the quickest. We appear every hour with news bulletins. The second event took place during the period of your presidency. Is it still true that the dialectic of speed and credibility is a barely resolvable problem?

[Hajdu] The fact that in the case of the examples you have mentioned the radio was first to give the news, let us say between ourselves, and also to our listeners, that it is our duty, is it not, by virtue of our possibilities. That is how I interpret this. Here there only exists the category of error, that is to say, when we do not avail ourselves of this possibility, and when we report something that the newspaper has already written. The newspaper was only able to print this thing the next day, as a result of its technical possibilities. Now then, speed is achieved to a certain extent at the cost of the information content. There are elemental and technical minimums. Factual things, things of a data nature, can also be checked within a very short time. For this we have to develop our technical apparata we must also develop our own knowledge. At the same time, in issues requiring analysis, in observations that have the nature of qualification—often a question itself can be a qualification, we can see this in our practice—in those things speed can produce certain inaccuracies, certain mistakes as well. This has to be accepted, and those who evaluate these things must always assess and consider this certain duality, and this certain degree of insolubility.

[Reporter] Can we take this as the creed of our new president in the coming period, since you will evaluate our work from time to time?

[Hajdu] It can be taken that way as well. I would also add—and this observation comes from very deep inside me- - that these kinds of insoluble dilemmas, or only partially soluble dilemmas, nevertheless do cause conflicts.

Editorial on Easing COCOM Limitations

AU1609142888 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Sep 88 p 1

[Editorial by Katalin Karcagi: "Crumbling COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] Walls"]

[Text] We are living in an open world. In the West, many people enthusiastically welcome the process underway in our countries and its significance, and some others welcome this process with reservations. The process is the development of the harmony between the will of peoples and their governments in some socialist countries to speak with increasing honesty about historical secrets and current problems. Reckoning with the past and present requires a greater tolerance of conflicts. Apart from some exceptions, the new way of thinking and increased tolerance of different opinions are noticeably present in the foreign relations of countries that belong to the same alliance, but also in East-West relations.

This interrelationship is visibly strong on our continent. "The other side" also speaks more courageously and in a more advantageous atmosphere about disturbing phenomena, and is more willing to consider its own responsibility. Several West European politicians, in Italy and in the FRG which is particularly interested in trade with East Europe, have recently expressed their opposition to a considerable number of outdated COCOM regulations. From its headquarters in Paris, this organization has been strictly limiting commercial relations with the socialist countries ever since the beginning of the cold war, and has been filtering and withholding the export of strategically sensitive products that can also be used for military purposes. Periodically, COCOM reviews the list of export articles that require special licenses, deletes the outdated products or the products that had already been developed in the East, and puts new products on the banned list. Licensing the export of such products is very cumbersome and hinders both small and large firms in their activity.

As long as it seemed that there were exclusively security considerations behind the ban on exports by developed capitalist countries, COCOM member states bowed to Washington's will. However, ever since they found out that the United States was abusing its market-determining power, the West European enterprises have been grumbling. The United States has been claiming first degree political interests, has been keeping its partners at bay, and meanwhile, has been trying to obtain international trade advantages for its own firms. West European economic experts who lost confidence mention the recent sales of Airbus airplanes to the GDR as the latest example. U.S. representatives have been opposing such sales for years, and negotiations were allowed to accelerate only when Boeing was holding negotiations on the sales of its own airplanes to Romania and Poland.

Experts familiar with the exports and imports of high technology products have pointed out that CEMA countries can obtain certain products through a third country by investing a little more in the transaction. The FRG chancellor has recently pointed out that there is a certain amount of hypocrisy in the COCOM list, and has promised changes. Obviously, he must have already known about the decision of the body in Paris which has come into force today. Several telecommunication products, telephone exchanges and relay stations, and optical telecommunication cables have been released from the export banning list. Hungary is directly affected by this measure, and thus, we will now be able to implement the long-planned purchase of a digital telephone exchange; thus, disturbances in communication will presumably decrease not only within our borders.

PEN Club Meets for First Time in 7 Years

AU2109070788 Paris AFP in English
2119 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 20 (AFP)—The Polish PEN Club, a branch of the international writers' associations, held its first legal meeting since 1981 on Monday and immediately called for the ban to be lifted on the Solidarity trade union.

The call came after the PEN club chairman Juliusz Zulawski was re-elected at its first legal gathering since the proclamation of a state of emergency in December 1981.

The test of a resolution which reached AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE here Tuesday said: "We are convinced that the authorisation of a diversity of opinions and actions in economic, social, political and cultural life, as well as trade union freedom, will offer the necessary conditions to bring the country out of its spiritual and material crisis.

"We believe that only the goodwill of the representatives of the government and the Solidarity union acting within the law ... will lead to the fruitful coexistence of all Polish people."

The resolution was passed unanimously at the meeting of the branch, which has more than 200 members.

The authorities dissolved the branch leadership in August 1983, along with the association of Polish writers, and froze its assets. The ministry of culture named a provisional leadership, but the London-based PEN Club did not recognise it.

Mr. Zulawski, uncle to filmmaker Andrzej Zulawski, said the authorities gave permission a few weeks ago for the branch to meet and hold elections.

In the new executive are writers known for their independence from the government, such as Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, Marcin Krol and Stefan Kisielewski.

The Polish PEN Club, founded in 1925, is one of the association's oldest branches.

Bishops' Letter Marks Mass Media Day

LD2009160588 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1415 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] A message from Polish bishops, issued in connection with Mass Media Day, was read in Polish churches last Sunday. In their letter the Episcopate states, among other things, that the media cannot be a monopoly, belonging to just one group of people propagating their own vision of the world and man, and also their own specific views and ideologies. Making access to the mass media possible for everyone, irrespective of their views of religion, the world, and politics, represents one of the fundamental criterions of freedom.

The Polish Episcopate letter cites some statistical data showing the Catholic press in Poland in an objective light. There are 36 Catholic publications accounting merely for 1.17 percent of the total number of 2,943 periodicals published in our country. The situation is similar as far as the consumption of paper is concerned: The entire Catholic press uses only just over 1.5 percent of the total amount of paper set aside for periodicals.

The Episcopate's letter emphasizes that the constitutional principle of equality of all citizens has not yet been tangibly implemented in Poland, and this is also the case as far as the access of Catholics to the media is concerned.

The bishop's letter appeals to the state authorities to put a halt, after many decades, to the practical state of affairs as it has been so far, and to give a concrete acknowledgement of the social nature of the mass media and of the public being free to voice its views and convictions by means of the media.

The bishops also call on the faithful and the clergy to make fuller use of the Catholic press, which still continues to have modest print runs and number of publications, but significant content.

Daily Calls 19 Sep Sejm Session a 'First'

LD2009104588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] The Sejm has Accepted the Resignation of the Council of Ministers; The Extraordinary Commission To Authenticate the Program of Reforms and the People Who are to Implement It; The PZPR Deputies' Club; The Aim of the Party is a Wide, Proreform Coalition; The Polish Assessment of Economic Policy; The Government Goes, the Problems Remain. These are the headlines and subtitles of extensive reports in today's papers from Monday's meeting of the Sejm. After nearly 10 hours of heated debate by the deputies, the resignation of the government was accepted by the Sejm. (?Accepted?), notes the SZTANDAR MLODYCH. Thus, we have seen something new in Polish socialist political culture. For the first time, the government proposed its resignation, although no one had expected such a proposal on its part. For the first time, the newspaper continues, the Sejm discussed such a proposal, balanced the pros and cons of the resignation, considered the merits and mistakes of the government, and debated but did not decide in accordance with an earlier presented political decision by the party.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH cites an excerpt from Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech at the Eighth Party Central Committee Plenum. The party and the Central Committee do not substitute the representative bodies in their

sovereign decisions. All changes should take place before the majesty of the law, in accordance with the principles of coalition cooperation. And this is really the case, writes the newspaper. On Monday, the members of the PZPR Deputies' Club were not constrained by party discipline. They could vote just as their consciences and the opinions of the electorate dictated. However we might look at it, why it happened so late, one thing must be remembered, SZTANDAR MLODYCH adds. After all, something did happen. There is a chance for the creation of a new model of deputies' club, a more effective and democratic one. There is, then, a chance that we will have a better Sejm. During the deputies' debate, voices of criticism and even sorrow were to be heard, that the existing democratic institutions of political life, including the Sejm, were not being fully exploited. The government has departed, but the problems remain, SZTANDAR MLODYCH ascertains. How will we solve them? At what pace? With the participation of which social forces? Will these be constructive proposals for the future? As can be seen, writes the newspaper, the results of Monday's meeting of the Sejm do not authorize complacency. Thought, responsibility, and work still await us.

Meeting Remarks of Sejm Deputies Reported

LD1909223988 Warsaw PAP in English
1757 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—Today's Sejm meeting started at 9.00 a.m. Present were Wojciech Jaruzelski together with the Council of State and members of the government.

Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski gave the floor to Sejm Deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska (independent) who delivered the extraordinary committee's report on the government information on the implementation of extraordinary powers and prerogatives for the Council of Ministers.

Immediately after this, a speech was delivered by Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner who ended his address with tabling the resignation of his government.

Not for the first time, the state of the economy, and primarily the ability to satisfy social needs, dramatically affects Poland's situation, Jozej Barecki said on behalf of the PUWP Sejm floor group. It is beyond doubt that violent deterioration of public moods was caused by results of the implementation of the price-income operation, which was linked with an assurance that it would improve the structure of prices and market equilibrium. However, the goals of this operation were not achieved.

The extraordinary committee's report shows that the government did not consistently implement recommendations, did not verify economic mechanisms that proved incorrect and particularly it did not prevent the price-income operation from getting out of control. The PUWP Sejm floor group fully approves of this assessment and proposals formulated in it to the effect that it is necessary to make deep changes in the government composition.

We share the extraordinary committee's stand on the general shape of the economic and social policy for the coming two years, said Deputy Boleslaw Struzek speaking on behalf of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) Sejm floor group.

The ZSL floor group points to alarming tendencies now occurring in farm production. The hitherto strong market of foodstuffs has been shaken. The deputy stressed that the premier's statement on the government readiness to resign was an example of putting the state's good above everything.

Speaking on behalf of the Democratic Party (SD) floor group, Deputy Ryszard Tomczewski said that although the government had made a series of positive steps, their share in the whole of undertakings had not been satisfactory enough to (?steer) the country out of the crisis. In his opinion, society's confidence in the authorities was clearly decreasing at an alarming rate. What is alarming is the lack of consistency between promises and assurances on the one hand and practice on the other.

Society, the deputy said, is ready to bear reasonable and justly divided burdens provided it is deeply convinced that its sacrifices will not be wasted. What is necessary is a government strong with legal and social support, one having conditions for fulfiling its constitutional tasks. Sejm's draft resolution contains a motion on the indispensability of deep changes within the government. The SD Sejm floor group accepts government's resignation as practical implementation of this motion.

Another period of disturbances in the economic, social and political equilibrium causes the feeling of threat to national existence in society, Deputy Jan Karol Kostrzewski (Independent) said. The announcement of a "round table" meeting gives hope for overcoming these difficulties. We must reach agreement and the longer we wait the more difficult the situation will be. The date of the "round table" meeting seems to be quite distant considering the pace of changes taking place in the country. This period must be well used both to prepare the debate and to make decisions which have matured to be made.

With appreciation I accept the stance of the prime minister who declared the resignation of the government. I am however convinced that the government, in this or that composition, will face similar problems and will have to win the race against time.

Taking the floor in the name of trade union deputies, Deputy Irena Szczygielska stated: We pointed out all the time that the right goals of the economic reform are not implemented effectively and consistently enough, despite the good intentions and big effort of the government.

Our opinions, stances or proposals were more or less carefully listened to but rarely made use of.

The trade unions stated as early as last March that the pursued price-income policy creates a basis for an outbreak of social unrest. The strikes have died out for the time being. In recent days we made emergency purchases worth several hundred million dollars to save the market. But this is a short-term solution because it does not remove the causes of the situation which emerged.

The trade unions once again forward a postulate of a radical change of concept of economic policy to a pro-supply and pro-market one. Only such a policy has a chance of bringing about more lasting effects and improvement over a period longer than several months.

We have repeated many a time and continue to repeat that the resources of social patience are near empty. In the name of their working crews and groups, trade union bodies have expressed social no-confidence for the present government. That is why we accept the premier's statement on the resignation of the government with respect and appreciation.

Deputy Norbert Aleksiweicz (PUWP): The condition of our agriculture is deteriorating because of subjective causes, that is because of a lack of the government's consistency in implementing the program of developing agriculture and the food economy till 1990.

The price-income policy pursued inconsistently since 1983 with regard to agriculture, had to bear an impact on the collapse of the growth rate of agricultural production. In order to avoid a deeper regression, there is a need to lift procurement prices still this year. There is also an urgent need to endow agriculture and the food economy with a leading role in the entire economy because such a situation will enable the country to overcome the crisis.

Deputy Edmund Meclewski (Independent) posed a question who would be the winner and who the loser in "this Polish struggle of ours," and stated that it would be difficult to reply other than in one word: Poland. This is because it is Poland which will gain, and immensely at that, from the national agreement taking shape. She, only she and along with her also us, will be the ones who lost were agreement not to come about. This would be a blow at the very foundations of the Polish reason of state and we must not allow this to happen. One must defend the fatherland not only by arms and blood in the battlefield but defend its interests during times of peace, safeguarding its independence but also development and construction of its strength. Living in the country, for the country and caring for its affairs is the essence of present-day patriotism, Meclewski said.

The deputy also referred to the recent statement of the spokesman of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the ongoing talks between Poland and the GDR about the waterway to the port in Swinoujscie which augur well. This makes us happy but would do so even more if instead of talks and assurances about progress, one could hear about accomplished, sensible facts. It would be good to conclude this matter speedily, in the interest of both partners, neighbours and allies, Meclewski pointed out.

Deputy Ryszard Bender (Independent) began his address by stating that the grave crisis, not only and not so much political as economic, has engulfed the country for years and is not retreating but aggravating. The deputy drew attention to the growing pauperization of society and deteriorating market supply in basic consumer goods. Recalling the equality of the three sectors of the economy—state, private and cooperative one stipulated in the [word indistinct] manifesto—Bender appealed for their real equal-rights treatment.

In his view, not only the government but also the model of power exercising must undergo a serious change. The point is for the authorities to agree to co-governing with other political circles and enable the opposition to present an alternative economic program. Perhaps it will be fit to be put into effect. A surrogate will not however do: Aside from associations, aside from "Solidarnosc" which should gain its due place in the trade union movement, new political parties are also needed. Without a normal alignment of political forces and an effective political compromise, we will not achieve anything in Poland, Bender said.

Referring to the idea of "round table" talks, the deputy pointed out that such meetings should take place on a permanent basis but in a narrowed-down composition and not an ever increasing one. The debates of this forum should result not in the emergence of a multi-person council of agreement but a committee for curing the economy and treasury, composed of several, at most 10-15 people. It should include at most 2 professors and apart from them practicians and managers. Such a committee should be given special powers and the new cabinet should execute them, the deputy said.

Economics must not be subordinate to ideology. Workyards should be managed by experts and not people of politics earmarked by this or that party. On the other hand, pluralistic trade unions—no matter what kind—should practice politics in the parties with which they are or will be associated and not in the plants, Bender stated.

Referring to historical examples and pointing to the advantages stemming from the agreement, the deputy appealed to Wojciech Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa to jointly declare themselves on issues related to the most vital interests of Poland.

Deputy Roman Pillardy (PUWP) said: Our voters do not want parliamentary outbursts of emotions stemming frequently from personal frustrations and ambitions. They demand that the Polish Sejm clearly lays down limits of competence between the government and the political authority so that the government can really and independently rule bearing full and personal responsibility for this later on, so that the competence, powers and responsibility are not blurred. And this describes our responsibility towards ourselves and towards the government we appoint.

The current situation reminds me of a sports match, Deputy Tomasz Adamczuk (ZSL) said. There are political parties, OPZZ, opposition and others among the players. The government is a ball. Everybody keeps playing and wants to score the biggest possible number of points. What is necessary is a bucket of cold water for all the competitors. At deputies' meetings, farmers say that the government will change sooner or later but they will stay on and so will economic problems, imbalance and debts.

What we need is a good government but not with a view to establishing anyone's position. We must choose persons of highest skills so that people recognize this government as theirs.

Indispensable is to unite the forces of entire society to faster move forward. Representatives of different orientations will sit down at the "round table", but I fear that a delegate of tired society, which is standing and watching, will be missing there.

Deputy Jan Mieloch (Independent—PAX) said that another basic and indispensable condition of the economic order is reliability of commitments the guarantor of which is good currency. And we do not have good currency and also through the fault of ours. The administration has not been reorganized so as to satisfy the needs of the reform.

We have lived to see the situation of another outburst of social discontent and decrease of confidence in reformatory practices. Social expectations of a clear change of orientation in the economy should meet with a positive response.

Today, we see the need to set up a really broad platform of national agreement which would cover views of every citizen.

The reality seen through the eyes of the workforce at the lorry factory in Lublin does not fill one with optimism, Deputy Roman Menczewicz (PUWP) said. Every sold car adds to the state budget some 600,000 zlotys and at the same time it makes the producer lose some 60,000 zlotys. Does this have anything in common with the logic, the deputy asked.

The town of Jastrzebie where I work is a relic of the times of a cheerful economic policy, Deputy Mieczyslaw Osika (PUWP) said. It is hard to be surprised by the desperation of a part of miners, including those at the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery where I work, who had led to strikes. Coal mining is experiencing particularly difficult moments today. But it was not miners who decided to extract 192 million tons of coal a year.

Raising the question of changes in the political sphere, Sejm Deputy Aleksander Legatowicz (Independent) stressed the necessity to work out such a procedure of these changes so that they should not take place under the conditions of "pressure and reprisals" but in the process of social dialogue.

The Sejm deputy opined that values worked out by Catholic social thought can be a support for this dialogue. On the one hand, this thought stresses strongly rights of a person, family, a people, working people. But, on the other hand, it stresses also responsibility and duty to take steps to promote common good. There is a need for both these elements today to solve our social questions.

Sejm Deputy Mikolaj Kozakiewicz (ZSL) said he personally hesitated to lay the entire responsibility on this government. He thought that the government was responsible to the extent to which it had been free to make decisions and to which it itself, by abandoning actions or taking wrong steps, had neglected to use existing possibilities to improve the situation. In the hitherto political system, the government has not been sovereign, he went on. Its direct subordination to the political leadership of only one party was an evident negation of the principle of the coalition way of governing and a proof of limiting the government only to the role of the executor. This arrangement, whose roots go back to the Stalinist era now so sharply criticized, narrowed also the Sejm's constitutional rights and limited its functions and lowered its rank.

In the present-day socialist system, the workers' party still has a special, leading role to play. Only blind people can fail to notice this truth. However, the point is that it is not possible to radically reform the economy and social system without equally radical change in the way of practically playing the leading role envisaged by the Constitution. Despite appearances, such a change would not mean the weakening of the socialist system in Poland but would mean its strengthening. The accomplishing of such a change is necessary not only because of past experiences but also because of future plans, Kozakiewicz said.

The change of the way of exercising power requires great courage on the part of the ruling party for this will be an unprecedented step in the hitherto practice of socialism.

The "round table" can by no means become a table for a political poker where every player tries to "trump" his opponent, to threaten him and sometimes deceive him by pulling false aces out of a sleeve or playing with marked cards. It should be rather a kind of medical consultation which jointly ponders and agrees on activities necessary to cure a sick person. And Poland is this sickman.

Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki (PUWP) stressed strong ties between economic and political reforms. These changes should consist in broadening the power base, in fuller implementation of the coalition system of exercising power.

Next, Deputy Zawadzki referred to Deputy Bender's address. It seems to me, he said, that maximalistic postulates, and I include here the introduction of political pluralism, can fail to facilitate the agreement. This is evidenced by Lech Walesa's interview for "KONFRONTACJE" in which he called it realistic to aim at social pluralism reflected in the law on associations, now under preparations, while the idea of political pluralism is not, in his opinion, a matured proposal yet. I think that this realistic approach is of great significance.

Deputy Kazimierz Orzechowski (independent, Christian Social Association): The announcement by the premier of the resignation of the government met with our understanding and respect. We see a need for a fundamental reconstruction of the government. We must, first and foremost, debate to whom the Sejm is to award the task of forming a new government. This, in turn, cannot be carried out in an atmosphere of excitement and haste.

Hope for the overcoming of the present impasse, the emergence from the state of public passiveness and frustration is raised by the sessions of the 7th and 8th PUWP CC plena, the announcement of the restructuring of the system of wielding power and the preparations for the "round-table", said Deputy Ryszard Lukasiewicz (PUWP). He added that this political line, which offers a historic chance for the creation in Poland of a socialist model of parliamentary democracy, required particularly active support and action. It must assume the participation in the authorities, and thus coresponsibility for the country, of various groups and milieux, including the opposition. The speaker also stressed the necessity of a consensus between the economic leadership and the trade unions as to the depth of the reform and scale of sacrifices.

Polemicizing with Deputy Bender the speaker said that guiding oneself by common sense cannot be characteristic of only one partner since this could lead to a rickety compromise. At the present moment representatives of the authorities went further than anyone had expected. The point is that the stubbornness of the other side stems only from deeply patriotic intentions. But is this really so, Lukasiewicz asked.

The trade unions, as the most mass organization of the working people which affiliates 7 million members, from the beginning spoke for the necessity of introducing the economic reform as well as its goals, said Deputy Jerzy Uzieblo (PUWP).

The results are so negligible because the government lost the main goal of management, which should be the fulfilment of human needs, from its field of view, he added.

Speaking with respect about the premier's motion on the resignation of the present government and the creation of a new one, Uzbieblo said that this should not be another castling on the personnel chessboard for the point is to finally make a breakthrough in the economy. "We are ready to give social support to the plan of consolidating the economy," he added.

The initiative of convening the "round-table" opens a possibility for agreement. We support it, Uzieblo said.

Referring to Deputy Bender's address, Uzieblo said: "The shape of trade unions, their area of activity must be determined by the employees themselves and should serve the workforces. The good of the working people lies in pluralism of thinking, it does not depend on the number of union organizations. The trade unions should not be an exercise ground for political pluralism."

Deputy Stanislaw Partyla (UPP) said that without negating the efforts made in the field of the reform one must agree that the effects were negligible. Despite the fact that we forecast a difficult three-year period of reform we did not envisage such a general disarrangement of all economic mechanisms. The conclusions of the extraordinary committee point to the need of a deep reconstruction of the cabinet. They are correct. The premier's motion for accepting the resignation of the government meets them half-way.

The speaker devoted the remainder of his speech to problems in agriculture. He stressed that the situation demanded that everybody become convinced that agriculture—treated appropriately—could become a leading national branch of the economy.

Politburo Meets 20 Sep on Sejm Session

Communique Issued

LD2009180788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Sep 88

[PZPR Politburo Communique on the 19 September Sejm session, issued on 20 September in Warsaw]

[Text] The Politburo has examined matters connected with the course and decisions of yesterday's session of the PPR's Sejm. It has familiarized itself with the information on preparations for the roundtable talks.

It was emphasized that the stance on the deep-reaching economic and state reforms and on the model of the Polish trade union movement, contained in the resolution of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, represents a fundamental line of the Party.

Progress in the work on an act codifying relations between the state and the Catholic Church was noted with satisfaction.

Preliminary political, organizational, and programmatic guidelines of the national PZPR delegates' conference were examined. They will be submitted to the Central Committee.

Specific proposals concerning changes in the cadre policy arising from the resolutions of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum have been accepted.

Ciosek on Politburo Session

LD2009191088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Statement by Politburo member Stanislaw Ciosek on 20 September PZPR Politburo session—live or recorded]

[Text] The agenda for today's Politburo session was quite full. We examined the current social and political situation in the country in the light of recent events—and lately there have been quite a few. Yesterday's Sejm session was seen by the whole country, and therefore, I will not comment on it.

Matters connected with the roundtable received a great deal of attention. In this context, we stated that we were guided by the line of dialogue, accord, and reforms offered by the eighth plenum and that we will not depart from the ideas contained therein, both as far as the deep-reaching transformations of the state's political or social model or of the Polish model of the trade union movement are concerned.

As for the next point on the session's agenda—the act on the state's attitude towards the Catholic Church—we have familiarized ourselves with the progress made on drafting the act. It is comprised of two parts. The first revolves around the draft convention between Poland and the Vatican. The draft has been elaborated by the joint commission and is currently at the Vatican. It will be subject to negotiations betwen the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Holy See.

The second part revolves around the act itself. It is a rather lengthy document, codifying a number of difficult and complex matters. The outline of the draft is already ready. The joint commission of the church and the state is continuing its work. I hope that this matter will quickly be finalized.

A number of other issues have also been examined, among them the issue of implementing the cadre policy—this is as a result of the deliberations of the Seventh Plenum of the Party's Central Committee—and the issue of protecting the interests of Polish citizens abroad in light of the developments of contacts and individual travel. Poland's contacts with the world are rapidly developing and numerous questions arise in connection with this, questions which should be settled in the interest of Polish citizens. These, then, were the main themes discussed during today's Politburo session.

Procedures for Forming New Government Outlined

LD2009202888 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] After the first government resignation in postwar history, we are getting many questions. What next, Marek Tumanowicz?

[Tumanowicz] The procedure, ladies and gentlemen, is as follows: The new premier will be appointed at the next plenary meeting of the Sejm, the date of which will be fixed by the Sejm Presidium and the Council of Elders. These bodies have already met today, so it is hoped that the date of the Sejm plenary meeting will be known tomorrow.

It is hard to predict at the moment who will put forward a candidate or candidates. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, for instance, has the right to do so. So has the commission for cooperation of the PZPR and other political parties, as well as the parliamentary parties.

After making the choice, the Sejm will entrust the new premier with the mission of forming a cabinet. At the next plenary meeting, the chairman of the Council of Ministers will present the program and his proposals concerning the composition of the government.

I would just like to add that, customarily, not more than 2 weeks pass between these two plenary meetings.

Sejm Session To Convene on 27 Sep

LD2009203488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] The Sejm Presidium has decided to convene its 38th parliamentary session 27 September. On the agenda will be the appointment of a Council of Ministers chairman, a request for him to present new ministerial candidates to the Sejm, a report from the Economic Planning, Budget and Finance, and Legislative Commissions on the government bond bill, and the appointment of additional members to the Sejm's Socioeconomic Council.

New Prices, Incomes Commission Examined

AU2009110688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 88 p 3

[PAP report: "The Basic Principles of the Work of the Social-State Commission for Prices and Incomes"]

[Text] PAP has received a document that describes the work and organization of the future Social-State Commission for Prices and Incomes. As we know, the idea of forming this commission was presented at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which said that the commission ought to be a broad forum in which to decide on prices and incomes policy and change over from sudden alterations in prices and incomes to smooth, gradual ones. The plenum resolution called for faster work on a general restructuring of prices and incomes and insisted that the Commission should commence its work by the end of September. Following consultations among members of the government, trade unionists, industrial managers, consumers, and scholars, the following document was conceived: I.

The purpose of the commission should be to make strategic decisions concerning prices and incomes policy by coordinating the interests of various socioprofessional groups with national interests. Right now this is impossible due to the institutional rules in force which prevent trade union representatives from making decisions that are binding.

However, in an early stage of its work, the commission should be able to speak out on the subject of prices, wages, taxes, the poverty line, social security, and other instruments and rules involved in dividing the national income among various socioprofessional groups. Particularly important would be the commission's role in determining the material situation of various social groups and establishing the basis on which to determine the standard of living.

Socializing the process of establishing prices and incomes policy should improve the quality of decisions and make them more acceptable to society, and make it possible to gauge social reaction to changes more quickly. The exact scope of the commission's work will be decided by the parties that belong to it. II.

The commission's composition should reflect the structure of social forces among society that are directly involved in the formulation and implementation of prices and incomes policy. The Commission should consist of representatives of the OPZZ, including a representative of trade unions in economic enterprises and a representative of trade unions in fiscal bodies; the National Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Cooperatives; the Central Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives; the Union of Old-Age and Invalidity Pensioners; the Supreme Social Council; the Central Handicrafts Union; the Supreme Council of the Polish Students Association; the government, including the chairman of the planning commission, finance minister, and minister for labor and social policy; and the Bank Council.

The commission's composition should be open. For example, if a national economic chamber should ever be formed, commission members ought to become full-powered members of this chamber. It is envisaged that representatives of the following may also play the role of social consultants in the commission's work: the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, Rural Youth Union, League of Polish Women, Consumer Federation, socioprofessional associations, and scientific societies. III.

It is envisaged that the commission will be formed on the basis of an agreement between all the parties represented in it. This agreement would be signed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers and by the chairmen of the socioprofessional organizations and institutions represented in the commission.

The commission's first meeting will elect a commission chairman, someone who is not actually a member. Chairmanship will be for a period of 2 years. The chairman's tasks will be to manage the commission's work and act as mediator between the parties. The chairman should be a person with high social prestige and an ability to conduct negotiations. He should enjoy a high level of social confidence. V.

Commission stances will be adopted on the basis of a consensus between the parties. Agreements reached this way will be taken into account in government economic policy. Should the implementation of such an agreement be impossible for any reason, the government will explain why and request a fresh examination of the topic.

The work of the commission shall be open, and its stances shall be published. VI.

In order to provide support for the commission's work, at its first meeting a secretariat and team of experts will be appointed. Their work will be supervised by the chairman. The composition of the team of experts must not depend on what parties belong to the commission.

The commission will be financed out of the budget of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

It is suggested that in view of their social importance, the topics covered by the commission should be included in the "roundtable." Any conclusions and suggestions made during the "roundtable" should be used in order to improve the commission's work.

Economic Consolidation Plan Viewed

By Ministers Plan Commission

AU2009111588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Discussion on a Concept for the Economy Consolidation Plan"]

[Text] A concept for the plan to consolidate the national economy was the subject of a meeting of the leadership of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission on 14 September.

Deputy Premier Zbigniew Sadowski, chairman of the commission, said that the plan, which is being worked out in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, must provide an answer to the question of how to achieve a major change in Polish development policy. The answer must come quickly. Nevertheless, the pressure posed by time and current events must not diminish the level of professional expertise necessary to produce this plan. In accordance with current legislation, the consolidation plan must also fulfill the functions of the 1989 Central Annual Plan. Therefore, the draft 1989 Central Annual Plan, which has already been worked out, plus tentative plans for 1990, are being presented to public opinion as a basis on which to hold consultations about the consolidation plan. The draft Central Annual Plan already contains various features of a major economic change, such as amendments to the National Socioeconomic Plan. The consultations should provide further necessary suggestions.

During the discussion, it was stressed that consolidating the national economy requires a major increase in the manufacture of market commodities. Improving economic equilibrium will be the basic problem in 1989 and 1990. However, progress in this field will be very difficult.

The market should be balanced by, on the one hand, ceasing production that is excessively energy- and material-intensive and damaging to the environment; and, on the other hand, reducing excessive supplies, especially of wholesale goods and goods for investment purposes. This must be accompanied by the elimination of existing barriers to production; in particular, the elimination of monopolies, an expansion of commercial freedom, and the standardization of all subsidies.

The meeting pointed out that work is continuing on a so-called supply plan, on which joint work with IMF experts is due to begin in October. An increase in industrial productivity and output and a rapid increase in exports will be important for this work, and will determine society's confidence in our economy's development possibilities.

Discussed by Baka, Scientists

AU2009124388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 88 p 5

[PAP report: "Consultations on the Subject of the Economic Consolidation Plan"]

[Text] On 15 September there was a meeting between Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and representatives of the Scientific Society for Organization and Management [TNOIK].

In the light of the draft plan to consolidate the national economy, W. Baka underlined the role of enterprise managers and organization and management specialists in the work of restructuring the functioning of the economy.

The talks pointed out that a failure to appreciate the importance of economic management is one of the reasons for the current economic difficulties. Correct decisions either failed to percolate through to economic units at all, or else they were distorted "on the way" by a mass of excessive rules and directives. TNOIK is decisively in favor of simplifying the functioning of enterprises and clearing it of superfluous regulations. Otherwise, we will never learn to communicate properly.

It was pointed out that, in a situation in which the system of plans has ceased to steer the economy, it is becoming essential to introduce a different method of steering it. In line with the logic of the Polish economic reform, this function can only be performed by money. Therefore, the most important matter is that the Polish zloty should become a real currency.

On the basis of theoretical and practical tests, the TNOIK representatives pointed out the need to decide in whose interests the national economy is supposed to be consolidated, what social forces are supposed to support it, and on whose behalf they are to do so.

The tasks of TNOIK in implementing the party's program of society's economic education were also discussed, as well as TNOIK's role in propagating science and knowledge about organization and management and publicizing the principles of economic functioning among managements and self-management bodies.

The TNOIK representatives briefed W. Baka about the congress of organizers scheduled for 14 and 15 October in Torun. They suggested that the results of the congress be used as society's contribution to finalizing the consolidation plan. They also announced that TNOIK would take part in the implementation of radical changes.

OPZZ, Farming Union Criticize Economic Policy

AU2109111688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Sep 88 p 2

[PAP report: "It Is Time To Go Beyond Discussion..."]

[Text] In line with their agreement on cooperation, the leaderships of the OPZZ and the Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations [KZRKIOR] held their latest working meeting in Warsaw on 16 September.

The meeting was chaired by Norbert Aleksiewicz, chairman of the KZRKIOR Main Council, and OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz. The meeting was attended by representatives of national union organizations operating in agriculture and the food economy. They assessed the sociopolitical situation in the country and accorded particular attention to the effects of prices and incomes policy on families' standard of living, including that of families of people working in agriculture. They also discussed the state of housing construction and problems connected with the protection of the natural environment.

It was agreed that the economic solutions introduced in recent years have not produced the desired results. Working people everywhere, in both towns and the countryside, are finding life increasingly difficult. The supply of goods to the marketplace is becoming worse. People are having to wait longer for housing. The public's general sense of security is being threatened. The environment is being destroyed. There is a real danger that agricultural output will fall. Because of a worsening correlation between the prices of production inputs and procurement prices for agricultural produce, agriculture cannot afford to invest. Young people are reluctant to work in agriculture. An increasing amount of land is not being farmed. Investment programs in the agricultural and foodstuff complex are not being carried out, which results in a significant amount of food being wasted. Commitments concerning an improvement in living conditions in the countryside are being carried out in an unsatisfactory fashion. The actions that the government has announced with a view to breaking the monopoly in the food economy remain in the realm of debate.

Both organizations have drawn attention to the negative phenomena stemming from the government's inappropriate economic policy on many occasions and have warned against their consequences. Unfortunately, the solutions proposed by the OPZZ and the KZRKIOR were not accorded sufficient attention when economic decisions were made. More often than not, consultations concerning draft solutions to problems that trouble citizens were of a purely formal kind. Even if we take into account the country's debts and the very restricted availability of foreign credits, as well as other objective factors, the main responsibility for the worsening situation rests with the government. Contacts between government organs and the trade unions have been marked by a bureaucratic approach to matters. That is why the KZRKIOR expresses solidarity with the position expressed by the OPZZ Council on 6 September.

Both organizations hope that, beginning with its formulation, the program for the consolidation of the economy that has been announced will not be marred by the kind of mistakes that have occurred up to this point. What is needed today is a far-reaching restructuring of the economy. The program should give preferential status to agriculture and the food economy, housing construction, the protection of the environment, and the preservation of appropriate working conditions. The program's success will depend on the support of working people, and working people will only give support to people who are not burdened by the mistakes that have occurred so far.

NSZZ Chairman Discusses National TU Model

LD1909230988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] The model of the Polish trade union movement is being discussed today in many enterprises and elsewhere. Harald Matuszewski, chairman of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) of Workers of the Voivodship Transport Enterprise in Bydgoszcz, participated in Friday's preparatory meeting concerning the roundtable, where, among other things, this subject was discussed. Leszek Czerwinski talked to him:

[Begin recording] [Czerwinski] Sir, how does the issue of trade union pluralism look to you after this preparatory meeting? Is it possible in the current (?crisis) situation?

[Matuszewski] Of course it is possible. I think that the shape of real pluralism should continue to be discussed, and all those who are interested in this should be discussing it.

[Czerwinski] Always one trade union in the enterprise, or one enterprise council and several trade unions, or several trade unions without a joint council?

[Matuszewski] I think that one thing should be rejected (?immediately). Two enterprise councils in one enterprise is not acceptable, due to the fact that everyone will be filching members, they will be mutually undermining each other's authority, they will want to carry out things which are, in effect, impossible, and this will break up [word indistinct] united front. When there is no agreement, there are no proper results. We think: one trade union in one enterprise. One more solution exists, (?which) has not yet been tested in practice at home in Poland, but this model functions in the West with so-called trade unions in individual (?branches) and professions.

[Czerwinski] With (?one) enterprise council?

[Matuszewski] With one joint enterprise council, or even better, the structure, having a legal identity, would be outside of the enterprise [words indistinct] the organization of individual trade unions but without legal identity.

[Czerwinski] So is this acceptable today?

[Matuszewski] We ought to discuss this. As I said at the beginning, this is an open issue. I think that this matter ought to be discussed above all by trade unionists among themselves, all those who are interested in any sort of model of the trade union movement for the future, within the framework, of course, of the law which is in operation. [Word indistinct] ought to be taken and discussed.

[Czerwinski] Do you propose a small roundtable concerning trade union affairs?

[Matuszewski] All interested representatives of the working masses who want to show that it can be done better and in a different way. [end recording]

Professor Interviewed on 'Pluralism'
LD1909230388 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—The problem of the opposition in Poland currently constitutes a consequence and political concrete form of theoretical and historical recognition of pluralism, Professor Janusz Kuczynski, philosopher, member of the consultative council at the president of the Council of State said in an interview for PAP. Excerpts:

A due place can be found for the opposition. One can describe this in the most concise and politically most correct way as follows: the right place for the opposition fitting into the frames of the generaly approved socio-economic formation of socialism. Such an opposition can and should be termed as socialist opposition. It can play a great and creative role though under the condition that its place inside this formation is precisely and correclty determined. That is, it cannot strive at bringing down the "system" but at—at times necessary—its radical development and improvement.

Socialism is in a period of really great transformation which can become lasting and extremely advantageous, I would even risk saying beneficial for Poland. A few fundamental conditions, which are not difficult to fulfill, must however be met.

In Poland, pluralism can develop only in a socialist context, as socialist pluralism. The opposition can fulfill the more creative functions the stronger the social system in whose frames it operates.

Roundtable, Opposition 'Ultimatums' Viewed
AU2009122988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 88 p 3

[Commentary by Jerzy Sieradzinski: "Dialogue Without an Ultimatum"]

[Text] For the overwhelming majority of Polish society, the possibility of a roundtable represents a great opportunity to expand dialogue and national accord in a way that will aid the economic and political reforms taking place in our country.

It was known beforehand that simply organizing a roundtable would not be a straightforward matter and that the process would entail a great many dangers. If all the potential partners in such talks sincerely wish to bring about a meeting and ensure that it takes place in a businesslike atmosphere, then what is even more needed is reason and patience, a capacity for compromise, a readiness to rise above personal, parochial interests (or questions of prestige), and recognition of the fact that our supreme cause is the well-being of Poland and Polish society.

During Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak's recent talks, it was agreed that participants in a roundtable would sit down at the negotiating table without issuing any preconditions and imposing any restrictions on what they might care to discuss with one another. This paved the way to the broadest possible forum for talks and, at the same time, precluded the use of diktats or blackmail during preparations for a meeting and during the course of the meeting itself.

Unfortunately, this principle, which was agreed upon jointly, has been undermined unilaterally. According to a statement made by the government spokesman at Tuesday's press conference, the various unofficial groups that met in Gdansk a few days ago to nominate their representatives for roundtable talks decided to issue demands that sounded rather like an ultimatum and constituted a precondition for any possible talks.

One of the demands is the restoration of Solidarity on the basis of its 1980 registration. If this demand is not met, they threaten to organize a new wave of strikes and unrest. So, some of the former activists of the disbanded Solidarity union, no longer mindful of recent experience, are once again advocating the "all or nothing" platform and are resorting to blackmail and the use of pressure to create a fait accompli.

The events of 7 years ago spring to mind when one hears reports from Gdansk about the establishment of a so-called Interfactory Organizational Committee, which is ready to reach for the "strike weapon" at any moment to force one to meet its demands, and prominent activists

who, in their statement to the Western press, describe themselves as the Polish political opposition and announce "a swift end to communist rule in the country."

At that time, some "extremist" circles were loudly shouting the same slogans: "All or nothing," "We are going all the way," and "The authorities must fall to their knees." This was accompanied by the very demonstrative breaking off of talks with government representatives, the torpedoing of the chance to reach agreement following the Jaruzelski-Glemp-Walesa meeting, and the calls from Radom in December. We've seen all this before!

I remember how it ended. Above all, I remember what this radicalization of demands, supported by strikes, did to our economy and everyday life.

History does not like to repeat itself, but only does so because people generally fail to draw intelligent conclusions from it. Are there really people who have forgotten this today? Is the old, discredited slogan "The worse, the better" to continue to be the main factor in the struggle against the authorities (or, to be more accurate, the struggle for authority), while the enormous costs that must be shouldered by society are ignored?

Any person who thinks logically must admit that this kind of platform makes agreement simply impossible. Does this kind of atmosphere make it at all possible to sit down at one table and talk to one another in a partnerlike way about matters as difficult and complex as ways of improving the condition of the Polish economy and speeding up essential political change in our state?

By demanding everything, it is possible to lose everything. This line of reasoning, which is present in the latest government statement, can also be easily found in articles dealing with Polish affairs that have recently appeared in the Western press, which, to put it tactfully, is not the most favorably disposed toward the authorities. While enthusiastically welcoming Lech Walesa's return to public life at the beginning of September, the Austrian right-wing NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG meant well when it warned him and the people connected with him against the radicalization of demands, which can lead to the loss of everything.

Opinions of a similar kind are being increasingly expressed by people who are known in our country for voicing views that do not necessarily coincide with the official government position. In an interview given to Radio Free Europe, Prof Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, citing an interview on trade union pluralism that he gave to PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in May of this year, said:

"In my opinion, what was started in the Gdansk shipyard in May served not to open, but to close the way to pluralism. I still maintain this view now, in September 1988, and I think that it has only been confirmed by the August strikes."

To make things perfectly clear, I would point out that the idea of enriching the model of the Polish trade union movement is not some kind of taboo subject. The idea was put forward by Alfred Miodowicz at the recent eighth plenum. It has found political support from the party. So, no one excludes the possibility of a businesslike discussion on the subject of the future model of the trade union movement in Poland as long as it does not lead to political divisions among work forces.

However, the issuing of demands in the form of ultimatums, and the use of threats and blackmail constitute the worst possible road to agreement. I think that this is perfectly obvious to those people who have decided to choose this very moment to release a statement, expressed as an ultimatum, that goes in precisely the opposite direction.

The idea of holding a roundtable meeting that could lead to the establishment of a National Accord Council, despite opposition to it and statements that seek to torpedo it, remains a great, historic opportunity for today's Poland—an opportunity that lies in the interest of the state and the people in the deepest sense. However, what it requires is the common belief that no one has a monopoly on wisdom and ideas, and, even more so, has no moral right to impose them on others and to issue conditions or demands in the form of ultimatums.

Acceptance of what would appear to be the simplest principles of dialogue makes the question of "where someone comes from" immaterial. What is important is where someone one wants to go, what goals and intentions he has, and whether or not he wants to contribute to our common store of thoughts, ideas, and practical solutions.

Daily Sees Solidarity in Opposition to Reform

AU2009160488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 88 p 3

[Piotr Rzadca commentary: "Poland Has Changed..."]

[Text] When I listen to Western radio stations and hear statements by avowed oppositionists or quotations from their articles and interviews, I receive the distinct impression that I have heard it all before, 7 or 8 years ago.

LE MONDE on 3 September carries an interview with B. Geremek who, when asked what his current priorities are, replies: "Giving the Polish workers a proper representation—a trade union representation." In other words, does B. Geremek think that the existing trade unions are not a proper representation and merely pretend to be interested in the workers? Are our workers as naive as he thinks? Does his attitude not call to mind the intimidating and arrogant words addressed by his movement in 1980 and 1981 to the autonomous trade unions? Geremek insists he is in favor of trade union pluralism. Is he really?

REUTER has conveyed a statement (on 8 September) by J. Onyszkiewicz whereby "Solidarity is not a political party, but a trade union intent on changing the rights of workers." We do not suffer from amnesia that would make us forget the identical phrases that were voiced years ago, and forget about this "trade union's" real activity, which revealed other intentions. However, A. Michnik does present real intentions in an article for the Spanish LA VANGUARDIA: "What we want today is a Poland without communism." Is that something new?

Another representative of this movement, W. Maziarski, told Radio Free Europe on 11 September: "The country's development is impossible without an accord with Solidarity." It is as if there were no other forces in Poland interested in economic reform. Is this complacency or arrogance?

An entire series of radio statements deals with the legalization of "Solidarity." Political representatives of this group, known to us for years, deny that they insist on legalization before the "roundtable" talks start. A. Michnik told Radio Free Europe on 10 September: "No real openness in Poland is possible without Solidarity's legalization." S. Bratkowski told Voice of America on 11 September: "Without a decision on Solidarity, any step forward will be difficult. Without Solidarity, a genuine, proper reform will not succeed." However, Voice of America quotes yet another oppositionist, Edward Nowak. And he, when asked whether legalization is a preliminary condition or not, replies: "Yes. We do not talk about this, because we are gentlemen (!!!)" However, the activity of these gentlemen does not end with statements, because threats are now emerging.

J. Kuron promises his audience on Radio Free Europe on 12 September: "There is no doubt that if the authorities continue in this way, a wave of strikes will hit Poland. We want to talk about Solidarity, and this is the only subject we can talk about. In that case, there is nothing else we can settle."

A. Michnik goes further. On Radio Free Europe on 12 September, he says: "There is a danger that unless Solidarity is legalized, there may be a return not to 1981, but to 1970, when instead of strikes there were burnings of party buildings." He says he does not want this, and adds: "But that is the logic of the growing conflict." Is the conflict growing by itself, without anyone's help?

I think that is enough of quotations. They clearly show how these activists understand pluralism, dialogue, and accord. Is it all that different from what they said years ago, that only they can represent the people and no one else, that only Solidarity can save the country, that only their stance is right, and that whoever rejects their stance will be forced to accept it by "spontaneous" strikes?

Are they incapable of altering their views? Do they not realize that today is completely different from yesterday? Do they not see that their influence has shrunk and that today there are social forces who want to reform the economy and are doing so? In fact the views I have presented coincide with the views of those who do not want any reforms in Poland. Fortunately, people with these views are not the only ones represented by the varied opposition.

Poland has changed, and thoroughly, too. Social relations and civic freedoms are different from what they were 8 years ago. Criticism of political, ideological, and economic matters is no longer suppressed. There are no restrictions on the right to present various ideas on how to overcome the effects of the crisis and change the functioning of the state. The columns of the official press are not barred to those who profess so-called independent options. New ways of making pluralism institutional are being sought, as in the case of the student community recently. Relations between the state and the church are better than ever before. Although the economic reform is proceeding in fits and starts, it is nevertheless proceeding, and a return to the old system of orders and directives would be unthinkable.

Are we satisfied with the speed of these changes? No! Even party members are criticizing the sluggishness of the changes. The unprecedented and highly critical stance of the trade unions vis-a-vis the present government is well-known.

So where do all these delays and shortcomings concerning the reform come from? They are mainly the result of the extreme difficulty in eliminating the vestiges of Stalinist socialism. It is just as difficult to create a humanitarian, democratic, and economically effective vision of socialist social relations.

Whoever fails to notice these changes, insists on repeating slogans of many years ago, and makes demands that have nothing to do with reality, is not only playing an old card, but is helping and entering into an alliance with those who want to preserve the old model of social relations.

Every day, people of various professions are expressing their hopes about the "roundtable" in the press, radio, and television. They want a solution to their difficult daily problems, an improvement in their standard of living, and better prospects for their own children. They would like an accord concerning these topics between all the politically varied patriotic forces. They also expect the parties to this debate to be responsible for its results, responsible for Poland's today and tomorrow. They support dialogue and accord, and at the same time support the efforts to change Poland.

Egocentric arrogance, dictating terms under threat of violence, and political parochialism no longer earn loud applause. Society has experienced too much to let itself be tricked into various political contests. And really it does not matter to us who one is and where he comes

from. What is important is the intelligent things he has to offer in order to improve the national existence, not start a new struggle and a new confrontation of forces.

TRYBUNA LUDU Views Strike Losses

AU2009111288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 88 p 6

[PAP report: "The Strike Balance Sheet"]

[Text] The direct and indirect damage caused by the strikes in August and September is already known. The loss of production in manufacturing enterprises amounts to Z20,241,000,000. Some 870,162 tonnes of coal were never extracted, which reduced the value of industrial production by Z11,273,000,000. Exports of coal to convertible currency markets fell by $17,025,000.

Exports of coal to the socialist countries fell by 76,000 tonnes, a loss of R4.1 billion. Some 1,169,000 tonnes of coal did not pass through Polish ports, resulting in a loss in port services amounting to Z2,559,000,000 and $1,750,000. The strikes in shipyards caused them losses amounting to over Z3.6 billion, including Z1.2 billion in lost exports. The "Stalowa Wola" steelworks lost Z2.1 billion, the Voivodship Urban Transport Enterprise in Szczecin lost Z333 million, and remaining enterprises lost Z293 million.

These direct losses also caused indirect losses in enterprises that cooperated with or used products manufactured by the striking enterprises. Although not all these losses are known, because some of them will only become apparent later and others are difficult to determine, it is estimated that total losses in this category amount to about Z33.5 billion. For example, for want of coking coal, the Katowice steelworks failed to produce 23,900 tonnes of coke worth Z740 million; 9,600 tonnes of steel; and 8,200 tonnes of semifinished metal goods worth about Z1.7 billion. Exports of coal to the first area of payments fell by 40,000 tonnes, which reduced our ruble earnings by Z3.8 million. Polish State Railways lost Z995 million, $200,000, and R1.1 million because they were unable to transport 740,000 tonnes of goods, including 80,000 tonnes in transit through Poland.

Thus, as a result of the strikes the economy's total losses amount to Z53.7 billion, plus $20 million, plus R9 million. A particular blow is the loss of 870,000 tonnes of coal, most of it coking coal due for export, and the indirect losses in the steel industry. Because steel production is continuous—or almost continuous—the losses are impossible to make good. One should also add that the above list of losses is incomplete, for it does not take into account the consequences of the strikes, such as higher production costs in the striking enterprises or the reduced sums of money payable into the state budget.

15 Sep State Council Session Viewed

AU1909163188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "State Council on Unchangeable Resolve To Continue Reforms"]

[Text] At its 15 September session, the State Council evaluated the social situation and stressed the authorities' unchangeable resolve to continue political, economic, and social reforms and to expand the platform of national accord.

The State Council expressed its support for roundtable talks and for the establishment of the Council of National Accord and noted that all unlawful activities, which threaten social calm and the normal performance of the economy, may harm these aims.

The council discussed specific actions to reach accord on basic national and state issues and on the duties of the people's councils and their executive bodies in fulfilling the eighth plenum tasks. The state council noted that the people's councils enjoy all the conditions to become one of the main implementors of the eighth plenum tasks concerning improvements in the performance of public services and the elimination of red tape and the indifference toward people and their problems. These conditions have been created by the councils' greater powers and by their superior position vis-a-vis the local bodies of state administration. The council should help to improve the performance of those bodies and sponsor and control efforts to eliminate many shortcomings in their own areas, and so to get rid of some reasons for social discontent and conflicts.

The State Council studied a report on the first activities of the new people's councils.

Stanislaw Sroka, chairman of the Voivodship People's Council in Leszno, and Andrzej Szczepanski, chairman of the Voivodship People's Council in Slupsk, presented reports on the work and first experience of the people's councils. All councils have elected their presidiums and appointed commissions, the composition of which will be established this September. The council presidiums have sought primarily to draw up provisional programs of term activities, to prepare sessions in September, and to expedite other matters, especially the transfer of tasks and powers from the voivodship to the basic level.

Some presidiums have shown great militancy in solving socioeconomic problems, thus helping to to alleviate social tensions and discontent.

The State Council noted that it is necessary for all bodies of the representative system to speedily complete internal organizational work and to start important activities. Listing the most important tasks of the people's councils, the State Council stressed the need to strengthen supervisory and control tasks, which should help the people's

councils to make periodic evaluations of the local economy's performance, especially in areas such as the flow of basic goods to shops; the functioning of services for citizens, the economic performance of local plants; solicitude for public order and security; and the development of housing construction, small-scale production, and the base of farming, especially the storage and processing of farm produce.

The State Council noted that before the people's councils are able to improve their activities and increase their influence on the performance of the local economy they must make greater use of the statutory, supervisory, and control powers and to discipline the performance of the appropriate units, offices, and services. The State Council stressed the need for radically changing the work style of the people's councils so as to eliminate anonymity of persons and actions, to raise the quality and punctuality of implementing proposals and demands, and to offer the electorate better accounts of such implementation.

The State Council stressed that the people's council should take more interest in the problems of industrial work forces. That is why the commission for self-management matters should maintain permanent contacts and cooperate with workers self-management bodies and trade union organizations in local state plants and other economic units.

The State Council examined the principles of the campaign in connection with elections to self-government bodies of the urban and rural inhabitants, whose 4-year term is coming to an end. The law relating to the people's councils and self-government bodies defines the mode of these elections, and the local self-government statutes define in detail the procedures for convening and holding election meetings, submitting the names of candidates, and publishing election results.

The unlimited number of candidates directly proposed by participants in election meetings, these meetings' right to decide whether elections are to be secret, and the recognition of the candidates who poll the most votes are the basic principles of these elections.

In order to ensure that those elections are effective and punctual, the State Council listed the duties of the people's councils and their presidiums in preparing these elections. Stressing the importance of the election campaign in the life of the people, the State Council ordered that the preparations for elections should include an honest appraisal of the present results of self-government performance in settlements and villages and that special attention should be paid to implementing the term plans and the production and fiscal plans of self-government bodies. The State Council also ordered that the people's councils should analyze the division of townships into settlements in order to define their size and borders, because this will create the best conditions for genuine ties between self-government bodies and inhabitants. The State Council is in favor of creating the urban structures of home committees in settlements and noted that the self-government bodies of the inhabitants of urban and rural areas are an important echelon of the entire system of territorial self-government.

The State Council studied a report submitted by the first chairman of the Supreme Administrative Court, the minister of justice, and the general prosecutor on problems mentioned in people's letters on the subject of the performance of justice in the first 6 months of 1988. The State Council also studied people's complaints about justice addressed to the PZPR Central Committee, the Sejm, the Office of the Council of Ministers, and the PRON National Council.

The State Council regards those complaints as crucial help in improving the work of the judicial system. The analysis of those letters has established that their number has decreased only slightly compared with the previous 6 months, but that this is no reason to claim that the performance of justice has improved, because many people are still right in complaining that court cases continue to be delayed and that the performance of judicial experts and bailiffs is still too slow. People also complain about inadequate information about the work on court cases and about occasional low standards of judicial proceedings. Analyzing the sources of complaints, the State Council noted that in most cases they have been caused by the excessive rotation of judges and by their too heavy commitments. However, many shortcomings are the result of performance that is not thorough enough. The State Council positively appraised the Ministry of Justice's measures to strengthen the cadre of judges.

The State Council regards the extension of the prosecutors' supervision over the sentences pronounced by lay courts as correct and ordered that administrative supervision in general courts be strengthened and that effective action taken to eliminate the backlog of civil cases. It also stressed the need to apply more widely disciplinary measures against persons guilty of negligence.

Because the Supreme Court has invalidated the election to the people's council in precinct 3 of the election region of the town and gmina [commune] of Karczewo, the State Council has ordered new elections, which will be held on 23 October 1988.

The State Council ratified the PPR-CSSR accord on legal assistance and legal relations regarding civil, family, workers, and penal cases, which was signed in Warsaw on 21 December 1987; and the convention on certifying the quality of mutually supplied products, which was signed in Moscow on 14 October 1987.

The State Council appointed:

— Mieczyslaw Biernacki as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Ecuador and Panama. He will combine these functions with his present function of ambassador to Columbia (appointed on 14 October 1987);

—Mieczyslaw Klimek as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Mauritius. He will combine this function with his present functions as ambassador to Tanzania (appointed in December 1986), Zambia (appointed in September 1987), and Madagascar (appointed in April 1988);

—Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the CSSR;

—Bronislaw Wilczak as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Nicaragua;

— Miroslaw Wojciechowski as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Mauritania. He will combine this function with his present function as ambassador to Morocco (appointed in December 1986).

Two persons have been appointed as judges of the Supreme Administrative Court, 11 persons as judges in the Voivodship Courts, and 50 persons as judges in the Regional Courts.

W. Mokrzyszczak was born in 1938 in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyszki in a working class family. In 1961 he graduated from the Warsaw Polytechnic school as master of engineering and in 1961-76 worked in the Northern Regional Railroad Office in Gdansk. In 1974 [date as published] he became deputy director of the Northern Regional Railroad Office in Olsztyn and in 1975-76 was secretary and then first secretary of the Olsztyn Voivodship PZPR Committee. At the 10th PZPR Congress he was elected as a member of the Central Committee and was later appointed Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary. He has been chairman of the Central Control-Revision Commission since the 10th congress and was Politburo member until last June.

Bronislaw Wilczak was born in 1928 in Suchowica, Bydgoszcz Voivodship, to a working class family. In 1949 he joined the Polish People's Armed Forces and held various command staff functions. In 1960 he graduated from the Foreign Service School's Diplomatic-Consular Department and has held various functions in Polish diplomatic units abroad, including China, Great Britain, and Lebanon. He is a member of the PZPR.

Orzechowski Addresses Legnica Party Plenum

AU2009123888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 88 p 4

[Speech by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 15 September plenum of the Legnica Voivodship PZPR Committee in Legnica]

[Text] Society no longer believes in declarations. We are aware that the country and party are on the threshold of great changes. We no longer want to live from crisis to crisis. A new model for exercising authority, a model for the party and for socialism, is emerging. Time is against us now. We ought to take the lead, yet we are hardly able to keep up. We only act quickly and effectively when we are up against the wall. This cannot continue. Economics is the decisive issue today. However, the key to economics lies in politics. Over the past 8 months we noted a steady increase in productivity, output, and exports. Our achievements are spoiled by the rising prices, incomes, and inflation. The state of the market is deteriorating. In the next few years, there will be no alternative but to reform the economy. A plan to consolidate the economy is being worked out by two bodies, the Office of the Council of Ministers and the PZPR Central Committee. Our primary objectives are: supplying the market, increasing housing construction, halting inflation, and linking our market to foreign markets. Therefore, this is a different strategy from the previous one, because this time supplying the market and housing construction occupy first place. There is a new distribution of budgetary funds and a new approach to prices and incomes policy, monopolies, and the tax system. We have given up the practice of freezing prices and wages. This plan is going to be very difficult to implement. It rejects the principle that no one is going to lose out because of the introduction of the reform.

We need a new national accord. Once again, the party has produced the idea of an accord with the constructive opposition.

Establishment of EEC Relations Announced

LD2009220488 Warsaw PAP in English 1725 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Brussels, Sept. 20—The Commission and Council of the European Communities have relayed a note to the Polish Embassy in Brussels stating that the motion of the Polish Government to establish diplomatic relations with the European Communities had been accepted.

In July the Polish Government informed the Commission of the European Communities about its intention to establish such relations, in the spirit of the decisions contained in the joint declaration of the EEC and the CMEA of June 25, 1988.

Commentary on Onyszkiewicz White House Visit

AU2009155188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Sep 88 p 7

[Commentary by Wlodzimierz Lozinski: "On the Need for Reason"]

[Text] Sometimes what happens abroad draws attention to domestic affairs. This is the case today, for example, when Polish opposition figures receive invitations from the White House and on meeting the President, complain about the government, the political system, and social relations in their own country. These kind of visits

push events occurring in high-level politics onto the sidelines, and we find ourselves returning home to the subject of the national faults of the Poles.

Two of these faults seem to be equally distasteful to me: running down one's own government and servility toward almost every foreign government. It is not that I dream of witnessing the very opposite of this kind of behavior, because I am far from inclined to be chauvinistic, or even to overlook wrongs that merit public criticism. However, I find it difficult not to issue a bitter reproach when I consider the statement made by Janusz Onyszkiewicz following his visit to the U.S. President Ronald Reagan. One of the things he said was that he asked the President to "exert pressure" on the Polish authorities to get them to agree to legalize Solidarity and that the President promised to do so.

The upcoming elections do not give Reagan much of an opportunity to keep his promise, if Onyszkiewicz did indeed receive such a promise at all. After all, the Americans know that their recent use of pressure and sanctions did not benefit their policy in any way. Washington has changed its tactics and is now promoting a "step by step" improvement in official relations with Poland, which—quite obviously—must exclude the use of pressure or interference in our domestic affairs.

Washington is playing with a new deck of cards that does at least partially take account of the changed situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but opposition figures of the Onyszkiewicz kind would like to go back to the old deck. However, these cards are worn out and soiled with events going back a couple of centuries. They immediately call to mind the mournful pleas, the complaints, and the petitioning heard at the courts in St Petersburg and in Berlin, and then in Vienna and in a couple of other capitals, where Poland's fate was more often than not only a chip in a foreign geopolitical game.

I am not saying that running down one's own government and behaving in servile fashion toward other governments has been confined solely to extremist, antipatriotic reactionaries. This fault of pulling out our dirty linen outside the borders of our country and getting other leaders involved in washing it is something that was also found among patriots who acted in good faith. However, we know from experience that this has never benefited Poland's interests.

Present-day members of the opposition make me think of those countrymen of ours who either know no history or have learned nothing from it. They seem to be people who are not aware of the mechanisms that shape relations between states. For example, there is the practice of promoting one's own country abroad, which Americans have given the beautiful name "public relations " or "public diplomacy."

Perhaps it is not the right time for me to call on people to praise Poland outside its borders. However, it is the right time to point out that in other states, these kind of complaints are the subject of reprimands and are even punishable by law. Several authors of books that have been deemed damaging to American interests by the U.S. authorities have, for example, lost the right to return to their country. I also remember that when the current head of the United States Information Service, Charles Wick, assumed that office in 1981, he accepted a list of names of more than 100 hundred well-known journalists who were forbidden to speak publicly when abroad "for the good of the state." This was an obvious curtailment of the freedom of expression of people whose views on Washington's policies differ from official ones. Wick was also the person who made it obligatory for state radio station, including VOICE OF AMERICA, to carry official, progovernment commentaries.

Perhaps this is also the right time to recall a truism, namely, that we can and should settle our own affairs by ourselves, without drawing foreign leaders and politicians into the dialogue. After all, not all these foreign figures want to see a strong, united, and wise Poland. For some of them, a Poland that is weak, divided, and stupid is a better form of political capital than the resolution of conflicts and disagreements and a collective effort to improve things in their own countries.

This appeal for reason seems particularly justified now, when conditions are ripe for an open dialogue, dialogue that is not subject to any restrictions, in the form of roundtable talks. However, I do not think that roundtable talks should exclude all possible preconditions. I would, for example, exclude the megalomania displayed by those partners who do not draw appropriate lessons from history and continue to look for solutions to domestic issues outside Poland's borders.

Sadowski Confers With PRC Institute Director

LD1509093088 Warsaw PAP in English 2038 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—Vice-Premier and Chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers Zdzislaw Sadowski discussed ideological determinants of the process of deep reforms taking place in Poland and People's China at a meeting with director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute at the Chinese Academy of Sciences Hou Yufu. [name as received]

Austrian Defense Minister Lichal Visits

Received by Jaruzelski

LD1509163188 Warsaw PAP in English 1517 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 15—President of the Council of State, Supreme Commander of the Polish Armed Forces Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Austrian Minister of Defence Robert Lichal, now on an official visit to Poland.

During the talk, the sides exchanged views on the current international situation and on prospects of strengthening peace and security in Europe.

The sides stressed the importance of the favourably developing cooperation between Poland and Austria and expressed a conviction that both states should expand and seek new planes of cooperation.

The meeting was attended by Polish Minister of Defence General Florian Siwicki. Present was also Ambassador of Austria to Poland Andreas Somogyi.

Minister Ends Visit

LD1509191788 Warsaw PAP in English 1637 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 15—Austrian Minister of Defence Robert Lichal ended his four-day official visit to Poland paid at the invitation of Polish Defence Minister Gen. Florian Siwicki.

During talks held by Robert Lichal and Florian Siwicki, the sides discussed issues of interest to both sides.

In the course of the visit, Robert Lichal visited Poland's oldest unit of the People's Army, the 1st Praski Mechanised Regiment and an Air Force unit as well as a military testing ground.

While in Warsaw, the minister laid a wreath at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, while his wife Elisabeth Lichal laid flowers at the monument to the defenders of the Polish coast at Westerplatte. In Oswiecim, Minister Lichal paid tribute to the victims of Nazi death camps Auschwitz-Birkenau.

At the Warsaw Airport, the Austrian guest was bidden farewell by General Florian Siwicki.

PZPR's Czyrek Receives SPD's Voigt

LD1509213188 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sep. 15—Political Bureau member, PUWP CC secretary and chairman of the Sejm (Polish parliament) Foreign Affairs Committee Jozef Czyrek received here today SPD deputy to the Bundestag, member of the board and vice-chairman of the SPD International Committee, Karsten Voigt.

Jozef Czyrek briefed Karsten Voigt on the socio-political and economic situation in Poland, on prospects of the development of the national agreement process and of economic reforms.

The talk also focused on the current state of relations between Poland and the FRG.

More on Foreign Ministry's 12 Sep Conference

AU1509153588 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Sep 88 pp 1, 7

[PAP report: "Press Conference by the PPR Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman"]

[Text] On 12 September, Stefan Staniszewski, press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, held a press conference for Polish journalists and foreign correspondents. He began by replying to questions sent in earlier about the impact of the August strikes on Polish foreign policy.

These strikes, he said, have aroused the interest of foreign political circles in Poland and the public on the subject of Poland, although this is not the kind of increased interest that we would like. The assessments and reactions of the socialist states were marked by concern and kindness regarding our country's further development. They also expressed concern over the negative impact of the strikes on the economy and on the success of the second stage of the reform. The stance of Western countries vis-a-vis recent events in Poland has been cautious and restrained, and reaction has generally been calm. These countries examined the consequences of these events on Poland's internal development, the processes taking place in other socialist countries, and the future of East-West dialogue, especially in Europe. This is understandable because Poland bears a considerable portion of the joint responsibility for the course of European affairs. The countries of our continent have the right to expect Poland to contribute toward the shaping of new European relations in a way that is worthy of our traditions and experience. Nevertheless, despite the generally calm reaction from the West, there have been voices in the West, not many this time, expressing their disapproval of Poland and calling for pressure on our country.

At this time, I wish to point out that the planned roundtable involving representatives of various circles clearly illustrates the authorities' consistent aim to seek national accord on as wide a platform as possible, by means of patient talks and political methods.

Now we have the opportunity to settle our national affairs on a solid basis. There is no doubt that the roundtable will also serve to consolidate the positive changes in East-West relations, including the success of the CSCE process.

[Question] What do you think of the conference of foreign ministers of the nonaligned states in Nicosia? (TANJUG).

[Staniszewski] Poland holds the Nonaligned Movement in great esteem, and observes a far-reaching consensus of views between Poland and these countries on the subject of many basic world issues. This applies to politics, including disarmament; plus economics, including the

problem of debts—in a nutshell, it applies to world peace and cooperation. We have followed the Nicosia conference with great interest. We were particularly interested in the decisions aimed at settling some conflicts in the Middle East and southern Africa, European cooperation, and the problem of debts. We welcomed with similar feelings the decision to hold the next conference of nonaligned heads of state in Belgrade, the capital of a country that plays such an important role in the Nonaligned Movement and was one of the founders of this movement.

[Question] What is Poland's role in solving regional conflicts? (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI).

[Staniszewski] Poland is taking an active part in peace missions. For 35 years, Poles have belonged to the neutral supervisory commission in Korea. We have taken part in international supervisory and control commissions in Indochina. Polish soldiers and officers are performing a peace mission in the Golan Heights, are among the UN military observers in Iraq and Iran, and in Afghanistan and Pakistan. We are ready to further contribute toward international peace efforts.

The "new thinking" and improvement in relations between the USSR and PPR have opened a new stage as far as the settlement of regional and local conflicts is concerned. The USSR set the stage by initiating an accord concerning Afghanistan. Later there was an agreement concerning a cease-fire between Iraq and Iran. Talks about the situation in southern Africa and about the problems in Cambodia are at an advanced stage. Other issues are also being discussed, for example Western Sahara or the problem of Cyprus. All these topics are being discussed either inside or under the auspices of the United Nations. We also observe discussions outside the United Nations on the subject of settling conflicts. I believe that if Poland applies to the United Nations or directly to the country concerned, we will take part in supervisory bodies just as we have done in the past.

[Question] When can one expect Minister Olechowski to visit the FRG? (ARD).

[Staniszewski] This topic has been on the agenda ever since FRG Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited Poland last January. Various dates for the visit have been suggested. October and November were suggested recently. I think that Ministers Olechowski and Genscher will meet in New York beforehand and agree on a precise date there.

[Question] Could you comment on views in the Western press that Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland has been postponed? (PAP).

[Staniszewski] The date of the visit has not even been fixed yet, so one cannot say it has been postponed. Let me recall that in January, the Polish and FRG foreign ministers agreed to appoint three teams to discuss bilateral issues as part of the preparations for Chancellor Kohl's visit, and agreed that first of all the Polish foreign minister would pay a return visit to Bonn, and only then would a precise date for Chancellor Kohl's Polish visit be established. Such a visit would be a special event. Both partners think so. The visit calls for careful preparations because it should begin a new stage in relations between Poland and the FRG. Poland has done nothing and is doing nothing to delay the FRG chancellor's visit.

[Question] The FAO European regional conference ended in Krakow recently. What are its results? (KURIER POLSKI).

[Staniszewski] The conference was one of the FAO's first regional conferences. It concentrated on European affairs. This conforms to the policy of "Europe is our common home" or "Europe is European." Poland played a major part in this conference. It was our idea that a political declaration should be adopted, and we are pleased that it was.

[Question] In connection with the visit to Poland by an important Syrian personage, what do you think of relations between both countries? (AL-BA'TH, Syria).

[Staniszewski] We have very good political relations with Syria. As far as economic cooperation is concerned, one could achieve considerable progress. We realize Syria's role in the world, especially in the Middle East. The invitation for the leader of the Ba'th party and deputy president of the republic to visit Poland illustrates the good relations between the two countries. The visit will take place this month.

[Question] Is there really a dispute between Poland and the GDR about the delineation of the state frontier through the Pomeranian Bay? (ANSA).

[Staniszewski] Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban has already spoken on this subject. I would also like to refer you to my latest statement on this subject, given in answer to a question from a PAP correspondent on 7 September. My reply was published in its entirety in the Polish and GDR press. I believe that means something. We are optimistic. I think we will settle this problem to the advantage of both fraternal countries.

[Question] What topics does Poland intend to raise at the 43rd UNGA session? (Polish TV News).

[Staniszewski] Minister Tadeusz Olechowski will avail himself of the opportunity presented by the UNGA session in order to hold many meetings. He plans to talk to about 30 foreign ministers. In his speech during the general debate, he will concentrate on international security, including the Polish initiative known as the Jaruzelski Plan. Our delegation will also bring to everyone's attention the tenth anniversary of UNGA's adoption of the declaration on a peaceful upbringing of

societies, which was Poland's idea. We have always considered this an important matter, being aware that, after all, international conflicts start in people's minds. We will also touch upon the question of proclaiming an international year of the family and UN participation in solving problems of international debts and building confidence in international relations.

[Question] Could you comment on the many DPRK initiatives to establish peace in the Korean peninsula? (POLSKIE PERSPEKTYWY)

[Staniszewski] We are now celebrating the 40th anniversary of the DPRK. A Polish delegation headed by Kazimierz Barcikowski is visiting Pyongyang. We have very good relations with the DPRK. We support this country's initiatives concerning a unification of Korea and other matters concerning the Korean peninsula, especially the idea of a meeting of parliamentarians from the DPRK and South Korea.

In reply to other questions, the foreign ministry spokesman confirmed that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will visit Poland and that a visit by the king of Spain is expected.

Leaders' Public Appearances 7-12 Sep

AU1609093588 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish from 8 to 13 September reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and State Council chairman, received Jan Kinast, Polish ambassador to the United States, on 7 September. (8 Sep, p 2) On 11 September at the Belvedere, he received farmers who had outstanding results in the 1988 harvest. (12 Sep, p 1)

Premier Zbigniew Messner attended the 11 September harvest festival in Pleszew. (12 Sep, p 1) On 12 September, he received Stanislaw Bejger, new PPR ambassador to Austria. (13 Sep, p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting of the Society of Bookkeepers on 12 September. (13 Sep, p 2)

PZPR Politburo member Jozef Baryla visited the nitrogen plant in Tarnow on 7 September and attended a meeting of the factory party committee. (8 Sep, p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek, Politburo candidate member, attended a meeting with Central Committee lecturers in Warsaw on 7 September. (8 Sep, p 4)

Kazimierz Cypryniak, Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting with workers at the transport equipment plant in Rzeszow on 8 September (9 Sep, p 3)

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, briefed the diplomatic corps in Warsaw on 9 September on the country's problems. (10-11 Sep, p 2) On 12 September, he received a delegation from the FRG Green Party and briefed on the economic reform and a Polish socialist pluralism. (13 Sep, p 2)

Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, visited the "Wola" knitwear plant in Zdunska Wola on 9 September (10-11 Sep, p 4)

Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo member and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee, chaired this committee's plenary session on 12 September. (13 Sep, p 4)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member, chaired a joint meeting of the Warsaw PZPR Committee and Warsaw PZPR Auditing and Control Commission in Warsaw on 7 September. (8 Sep, p 2)

Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, signed the condolence book at the GDR Embassy on 12 September on the death of Werner Felfe, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. (13 Sep, p 2)

Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, met with trade unionists in Tarnow on 10 September to discuss trade union tasks. (12 Sep, p 3) On 12 September, he attended the funeral of Stanislaw Baranik, first secretary of the PZPR committee of the Lenin Steelworks in Nowa Huta. (13 Sep, p 4)

Zbigniew Muranski, Politburo member, attended the 12 September plenum of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee. (13 Sep, p 4)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended the fifth ideological conference of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth on 11 September. (12 Sep, p 3)

Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member, attended the 8 September plenary session of the Gorzow Voivodship PZPR Committee in Gorzow. (9 Sep, p 2)

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with the editorial staff of TRYBUNA LUDU on 8 September in order to discuss the role of the press in consolidating the party's ideological unity. (9 Sep, p 2)

Gabriela Rembisz, Politburo candidate member, attended the plenary session of the Poznan Voivodship PZPR Committee in Poznan on 7 September. (8 Sep, p 2) On 9 September, she attended a League of Polish Women meeting in Poznan. (10-11 Sep, p 4)

Ceausescu Greets Israel's President on Birthday

AU1909172688 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Sep 88 p 5

[Greeting message from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Israel's President Hayim Herzog on his 70th birthday]

[Text] To Mr Hayim Herzog, president of the State of Israel:

On the occasion of your 70th birthday, I convey to you warm greetings together with best wishes for good health and personal happiness and wishes for peace and progress to the Israeli people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

Nigeria's Aikhomu Arrives in Bucharest

Welcomed by Dascalescu

AU2009180688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1737 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/9/1988—On 20 September, invited by Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, prime minister [as received], arrived in Bucharest, to pay an official visit to Romania.

The guest is accompanied by Major General Muhammadu Gado Nasko, minister of agriculture, water resources and rural development, and other officials.

The Nigerian premier was welcomed by Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu, at the Otopeni Airport which was flying the state colours of the two countries. Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei, ministers and other Romanian officials attended.

Military guards lined up at the airport. The state anthems of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Federal Republic of Nigeria were played.

Dascalescu, Aikhomu Hold Talks

AU2009184488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/9/1988—Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu met with Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, prime minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [as received].

During the talks, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, the sides looked into questions related to the development of the relations of collaboration on multiple planes between the two countries and peoples.

Dascalescu Hosts Dinner

AU2009184688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1836 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/9/1988—Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, gave an official dinner in honour of Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, prime minister [as received], chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, on September 20.

Attending were members of the government, other Romanian officials and officials who are accompanying the Nigerian prime minister.

During the dinner, held in an atmosphere of warm friendship, the two heads of government proposed toasts.

Presidency Statement on Leadership, Kosovo, Army
LD2009204288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1857 GMT 20 Sep 88

["State Presidency on situation in Yugoslavia"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, September 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's State Presidency demands that all state bodies in the federation, republics, and provinces direct their activities towards realising the economic and political reforms, a statement from the Presidency's September 14 session said. The statement was issued today.

Yugoslavs are worried over the fate of the country and decisively demand a stop to negative trends, and for that reason, the presidency assessed, the greatest responsibility for stopping conflicts, disunity, for everything happening now and everything that could result from the present situation lies with the leaderships.

The statement recalled that the state Presidency mid-July assessment said that the situation in the country was difficult and burdened with danger.

The Presidency demanded that competent bodies undertake measures to stop unfavourable trends at that time.

Even after the warning, however, the situation did not improve. Further confrontations erupted, inter-nationality relations deteriorated and nationalism escalated, resulting in a serious aggravation of the situation particularly in the province of Kosovo, the state Presidency reported.

It has been said that such a situation threatens the unity of Yugoslavia and the democratic alternative of resolving the crisis and weakens efforts for implementing an economic and political reform.

The report particularly demands an end to the stirring up of political passions, nationality exclusiveness and distrust, various pressures and undemocratic methods because they are causing immeasurable damage to all the nations and nationalisties in Yugoslavia.

The report placed special emphasis on greater urgency in settling the situation in Kosovo Province. An appeal for united action was made and it was concluded that the elimination of the causes of the migrations of Serbs and Montenegrins pressured by Albanian nationalists and separatists and the return of the Serbs and Montenegrins who have moved from their lands has absolute priority. Repeated attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins by Albanian nationalists and separatists are causing justified protests and bitterness among Serbs and Montenegrins and the public in general, the Presidency statement said. However, the Presidency warned that the present situation, was also characterised by the activities of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists.

Because of all this, the Presidency recalled the Yugoslav programme on Kosovo adopted some time ago, and said that its consistent implementation is a test of responsibility for the Yugoslav Federation, all the republics and both autonomous provinces.

The statement said once again that the reason for the Presidency's decision to deploy special units of the federal police was to extend direct help to the provincial of Serbs and Montenegrins and all other citizens of Kosovo and said the task is of vital importance. In reference to the growing number of protest meetings in Yugoslavia, especially those at which solidarity with the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins is demonstrated, the state Presidency upheld the opinion of the republican and provincial presidency presidents who warned that the further organizing of protest meetings on the territories of the republics and provinces which fail to give their official approval could have serious consequences for the political stability, inter-nationality relations and security in the country,.

"It is impermissible to undertake anything which could destabilize the political and security situation and negatively influence inter-nationality relations in any part of the country. All the more so, since mass protest meetings are characterized also by unacceptable hostile slogans, emblems and songs, attacks on the achievements of the Yugoslav revolution and on the country's constitutional order and calls for national intolerance and reckoning," the Presidency of Yugoslavia assessed.

In view of the fact that some Yugoslav mass media, themselves, have joined in presenting unsubstantiated attacks on the country's institutions and leaderships, slanders, threats and unprincipled accusations, the state Presidency called for an end to such a negative practice and insisted that the public be kept objectively informed and that those who do not do their duty in preventing national divisions, mistrust, and disunity be taken to task.

The Presidency underscored that in all its contacts with republican and provincial leaderships to date it had insisted on the surmounting of their mutual differences, differences which fan public polemics, as it specified.

Bearing in mind that it is of an outstanding importance for the improvement of the overall political and economic situation in the country that the draft amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution be adopted by the set date, November 29 of this year, the state Presidency urged that the remaining differences of opinions be overcome and exclusivism and political pressures abandoned.

In the light of the great importance the upcoming changes in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia have for the stabilization of the political situation and inter-nationality relations in the country as a whole, the Presidency of Yugosalvia insisted that the leaderships of

Serbia and its two provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina, "immediately and without any postponement" reach accord on the constitutional changes.

The Yugoslav State Presidency drew attention to the escalation of organized activities of nationalist forces in virtually all parts of the country, forces which call for national monolithism and rallying, incite chauvinism and threaten to instigate serious conflicts.

Once again drawing attention to the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army in some environments, as part of which the constitutional role of the Yugoslav Armed Forces is denied, the state Presidency again underscored the responsibility of the respective leaderships in the prevention of the negative phenomenon.

Slovene LC Presidium on Kosovo Problem Solution
AU2009161688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 88 p 1

[S. Gajevic report: "Counterrevolution X-Rayed"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Sep—The next session of the Slovene LC Central Committee will be devoted to constitutional changes and the realization of the program of the Slovene LC Central Committee on Kosovo. Preparations for this meeting were discussed at today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium.

It was assessed at today's session that four prerequisites are essential for solving the problems in Kosovo. The main one of these is the recognition that the development of Kosovo is a joint Yugoslav problem and that a solution to the Kosovo situation can only be found within the framework of democratic ways of giving the responsibility for the protection of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo to the Albanian nationality as the majority population, as well as giving the responsibility to Serbia, Vojvodina, and Yugoslavia for overcoming the problems in Kosovo.

For its part, the LC must initiate action with the same aim, bearing in mind that a solution to the increasingly difficult situation in Kosovo must be approached as a long-term task.

Dilemma for Polemics [subhead]

As well as these claims, a dilemma was also presented at the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium's session today which will probably provoke polemics. In short, this dilemma amounts to the question of whether the situation in Kosovo can be solved only through the formula that the counterrevolution is carrying on in Kosovo. At the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, the question was also asked whether the assessment of the counterrevolution in Kosovo holds for all points and, although this assessment is correct, whether it is appropriate enough for the mobilization of the majority population in Kosovo in settling accounts with the forces of separatism.

In the opinion of Tina Tomlja, it is counterproductive to hold to the assessments that there is a counterrevolution in Kosovo and that this is being confirmed by the course of time. Separatism is a danger for Yugoslavia, but counterrevolution is a broader concept and I do not know where to find the reasons for this assessment, said Tina Tomlja.

General Ivan Dolnicar also expressed scepticism at the assessment that there is a counterrevolution in Kosovo. We give such an appraisal easily, said Dolnicar. The students of 1968 were also assessed in this way and the situation in Slovenia was also recently appraised like this and now Dr Muhamed Kesetovic is trying to find a scientific basis for the assessment that there is a counterrevolution in Kosovo and that in a book which is used to educate officers in the Yugoslav People's Army. The slogan "Kosovo Republic" is assessed as counterrevolution and people are persisting in doing this. General Dolnicar thought that the assessment of the counterrevolution in Kosovo does not help the mobilization of the majority population in Kosovo. If you call someone a counterrevolutionary, it would be difficult for you to mobilize him, concluded Dolnicar.

In addition, General Dolnicar stressed that we do not have the right truth about what is happening in Kosovo or about the current events and the causes of these events.

Emigration a Profitable Venture [subhead]

General Dolnicar said further that there is talk about emigration from Kosovo under duress but this neglects the economic aspect of the emigration and he stated that emigration from Kosovo is being turned into a lucrative venture because, as he says, a man can sell property in Kosovo for a lot of money and then can return to Kosovo and have priority when it comes to employment. General Dolnicar was concerned because this business is being encouraged and he was explicit in the assessment that the situation in Kosovo must be resolved in a democratic way.

Joze Smole spoke about serious insinuations which say that individuals in the LCY Central Committee give support to the counterrevolution in Kosovo. As an illustration, Smole cited from POLITIKA the words of Batric Jovanovic at yesterday's veterans' meeting in New Belgrade when he openly criticized Milan Kucan, Sergej Krajger, Milan Uzelac, Azem Vlasi, Djordje Stojsic, and those who defended Fadilj Hodza.

Smole then added that we have general attacks on members of the LCY Central Committee and the SFRY Presidency who are accused of doing nothing to change the situation in Kosovo. On the other hand, insinuations

are spreading that these officials are directly linked to Albanian separatists and even that there are people in the Yugoslav leadership who are not for Yugoslavia. Smole warned that anti-Albanian feeling is being created in Serbia and elsewhere and the climate is arising at the protest meetings in which more or less all Albanians are to blame for the situation in Kosovo. All this gives space in newspapers to those who are against Azem Vlasi or Kacusa Jasari which all creates the passivization of the Albanian population. Smole said that all this is more grist for the mill of Albanian nationalists and irredentists and could lead to incidents.

Concluding the discussion on this subject, Milan Kucan said that one should see whether the assessment of counterrevolution in Kosovo can encompass all the complexity of the situation in the province. By persisting in only saying that there is a counterrevolution in Kosovo, means that one acts with only those measures which are implied by this assessment and these are, above all, measures of the state apparatus.

Kucan said that the problems in Kosovo cannot be solved only with repressive state measures.

The session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium expressed much criticism of the meetings of support for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. As regards the articles in POLITIKA EKSPRES and POLITIKA on the letter which was sent by residents of Gorica in support of the announced meeting in Ljubljana, Milan Kucan said that no one disputes the right of these people to think that such a meeting is useful, however in a multinational community, the harm done by single-nationality gatherings must be considered. The people who organize these meetings must disassociate themselves from the calls to hatred which are heard at these meetings, said Kucan.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

A Referendum as a Possibility [subhead]

The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium also discussed today preparations for the part of the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee concerning constitutional changes. The Slovene representatives in the Constitutional Commission and the Federal Assembly were acknowledged for their work so far particularly because they managed to shatter the false picture that changes to the Slovene Constitution contain some special interests and do not respect the interests of the community. The question of a referendum must be left to those with the suitable powers, above all the Slovene Assembly, it was said at the session of the Presidium.

Comments were particularly aimed today at the amendment which relates to financing the Yugoslav People's Army. The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium did not support all the constitutional changes which strengthen the Yugoslav federation and the demand that relations in the SR of Serbia be regulated as soon as possible.

Milosevic Addresses Those Who Carry His Picture

AU2009174088 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "We in the Serbian Leadership Work Together and on an Equal Footing"]

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the LC Central Committee of Serbia, has asked POLITIKA editorial board to publish the following:

"At some rallies of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and at some brotherhood and unity meetings, particularly the ones held recently, a certain number of citizens carried my pictures and banners with my name on them. In this connection, I want now to address these people who in this way express support for me personally:

"Dear Comrades,

"It is a real honor for me to receive recognition from LC members and citizens for my work in the LC Central Committee of Serbia. I see this recognition above all as an expression of support for the policy of the LC Central Committee of Serbia. However, I also want to say that such a form of support places too large an emphasis on the role of an individual in political and social life. We in the LC Central Committee of Serbia and in the Serbian leadership in general work together and on an equal footing. There is therefore no reason to make anybody more prominent than others. Therefore, I would ask the citizens who carry my pictures and banners with my name on them not to express their support for the policy of the LC Central Committee of Serbia in such a way in the future. I am convinced that in this way they would contribute even more to the policy they agree with.

"The support to the Presidium and the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and to all individuals occupying responsible offices in the whole of the republic will be expressed in the right way through organized and serious activity with a view toward carrying out changes necessary for Serbia to be strengthened economically, to be constituted as a republic, and to be able to have free cultural development. In this great task, everybody has his share of responsibility, and the largest share belongs to the leaderships. The only recognition for the work of the leaderships should be results in positive changes in society, and particularly in the economic and political position of the workers class.

"In the firm belief that the policy that the LC of Serbia carries out within the LCY in the spirit of the achievements of our socialist revolution will be completely realized through the joint effort of all Communists and all citizens of the SR of Serbia, with comradely greetings, Slobodan Milosevic."

Serbs Hold Protest Meeting in Pristina

AU2009180888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Milovoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] More than 5,000 Serbs and Montenegrins are currently holding a protest meeting in Pristina. The reason for the protest is an attack on a 27-year-old girl student that took place the night before last. The attacker is still not known. Here is Milovoje Mihajlovic on what is now happening in Pristina:

Carrying a Yugoslav flag, Serbs and Montenegrins tonight came to again express their dissatisfaction with the situation in Kosovo. They shouted slogans: Kosovo is Serbia; Serbia has risen; Irredentists go out.

They also expressed support to the Serbian leadership and particularly to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. It was stressed that Serbs and Montenegrins gathered today on world peace day to demand freedom and not arms. Our gatherings are not nationalist. This was stated in the speeches made so far. We are not singing Chetnik songs either.

Kolj Siroka and Azem Vlasi were again mentioned as the most responsible people for the current situation in Kosovo. Akrem Arifi was also called to account. At yesterday's session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium he said that Chetnik songs are sung at the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins.

The protest meeting of Pristina citizens is continuing.

10,000 Protest in Upijana

LD2009215288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Pristina, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—More than 10,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Pristina and the surrounding area, as well as from other places in Kosovo, gathered this evening in the Pristina settlement of Upijana to protest yesterday's attack on Mirjana Nedeljkovic. The protest meeting was held in front of the building in which the assaulted Mirjana Nedeljkovic lives. Enver Selimi, president of the Pristina SAWP Municipal Committee and Nada Tokovic, chairwoman of the Pristina SAWP committee for women's social activity, attended. [passage omitted] Singing the Yugoslav anthem, those at the rally dispersed peacefully to their homes some time after 1900.

Vranje Solidarity Meeting To Be Held 1 Oct

LD2009225388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 20 Sep 88

(Excerpt] Vranje, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—A solidarity meeting with the long suffering Serbs and Montenegrins who live in Kosovo and have been deprived of their rights will be held in Vranje on 1 October at 1200 in the Sports and Recreation Center, where tens of thousands of people can gather. This was decided today by the Vranje SAWP Presidium Municipal Conference, which had received requests from working people, citizens, work organizations, and local communities.

At the meeting, constitutional changes will be sought to declare Serbia a Yugoslav republic. This way conditions will be created that will improve the political security situation and the overall situation in Kosovo, destroy the counterrevolution of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, and allow the return of Serbs and Montenegrins who moved out under duress. [passage omitted]

Two Deputy Prosecutors Expelled From LC

LD2009220388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Tetovo, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—A session of the basic LC organization of the municipal public prosecutor's office in Tetovo decided unanimously to expel municipal public prosecutor deputies Abdulacim Saliu and Nehad Ramadani from the LC. They are expelled for not involving themselves in activities to suppress hostile action from positions of greater Albanian nationalism and separatism, and for contributing by their opportunistic behavior to the upsurge in nationalism and other negative phenomena in the municipality. On the basis of the conclusions of the municipal LC committee in Tetovo, proceedings to dismiss the two deputies will be started.

Threats to Albanian Nationals Attending Rally

AU2109105788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Two Albanians who spoke at the recent solidarity meeting in Majdanpek have been openly threatened, their photographs in the form of death notices have been put up in individual places in Kosovo, and their relatives have organized vigilance groups.

This was said in Zajecar at the expanded session of the SAWP Intercommunal Conference Presidium. This has shown that separatists do not attack only Serbs and Montenegrins, but also progressive Albanians, it was pointed out in Zajecar.

Nova Gorica Petition Over Kosovo Disputed

LD2009142688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0742 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Nova Gorica, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—The support of 98 inhabitants of Nova Gorica, who signed an initiative in support of organizing a meeting of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo in Ljubljana and which was published in the press, has caused astonishment as well as sharp protests and anger in that town. Inhabitants of Nova Gorica, angry because some papers are making use of this so-called support from Nova Gorica, think that such meetings are not resolving problems and oppose them.

The resulting political consequences have been assessed by both the Nova Gorica SAWP and the Nova Gorica LC Municipal Committee Presidium. The presidium stated that the signatures had been collected from among a very narrow and closed circle of people, mostly of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality. This approach to collection represents a division on a basis of nationality. Such a divisive approach brings misunderstanding and intolerance and creates conditions for exacerbating conflicts on a national basis.

The politically damaging manipulation of this in some sections of the media is also unacceptable because it creates an untrue and distorted picture of the mood, not only of the citizens of Nova Gorica, but of Slovenes in general. Thus, the Nova Gorica LC Municipal Conference Presidium has suggested to the SAWP Municipal Conference Presidium that at its next session it assess what has arisen. The presidium should invite representatives of the signatories as well as representatives of the Albanian nationality in the municipality and others to the session so that an overall and objective assessment can be made of the motives of this collection of signatures, the political consequences, and the mood among the people.

Students Invited To Help Kosovo Serbs

AU2009194788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 88 p 5

[D. Pusonjic report: "Anger From Hectograph"]

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Sep—By 15 September, a group of about 1,000 Belgrade students should travel to Kosovo by a special train and spend 1 day helping Serbs and Montenegrins in their fields. In the evening they would attend a joint protest meeting against terror over non-Albanians in the province.

This is the essence of the demand contained in a petition which appeared in the Veljko Vlahovic student campus in New Belgrade the day before yesterday. The petition was initiated by two law students, Dusan Maric, age 25, from Kupres, and 28-year-old Slavisa Sosic from Smederevo.

Judging by the students initial "response," this call has been supported. Yesterday, 73 students signed the petition within ½ hour. Let us look in more detail at what is written on four and one-half pages of the typed "petition" which is full of confusing, unfounded, and very "explosive" assessments.

Rifles and Ancestors [subhead]

So, in a threatening tone the petition states that the students are "embittered because of the rabid shiptar [derogatory name for Kosovo Albanians] fascists and the calculating Yugoslav policy" toward the Kosovo drama. The student campus, as a microcosm of Yugoslavia, must "let shiptar tyrants and Yugoslav civilized democrats know that through their terror and tricks they 'drove us into a corner,' and that there is nowhere else to go, that the 60,000 students of the Belgrade University (Red University 'Karl Marx') will no longer look at the columns of tormented and humiliated brothers from Kosmet without doing something."

This threat is amplified by the ultimate "call" for arms: "It must be let known to them that there are no more empty promises and delays, that we must work. Otherwise we will fight not against Ballists, but against Yugoslav policy on Kosmet, against the nonhumans who enforced this policy, who cynically laugh at the cry of those harassed and raped, who laugh at the hopelessness of the frightened people and at the mental emptiness of the exiled. If this conversation of the deaf (those that are only deaf for the needs of Kosovo Serbs) continues, if this agony continues, we will not fight with conclusions and plenums—we will fight with a rifle in the hand as our ancestors did. We will not wait for anybody's 'green light,' we are 'fed up'."

Asking whether one should use the force to provide youth in Kosovo and Metohija with the "same freedom which shiptar students enjoy in the student campus and at Belgrade University, or tens of thousands of shiptars who live in Belgrade," the petition then informs the "students of Pristina University that in the future they would be held responsible for nurturing in its ranks the enemy of the Serbian people and Yugoslavia today."

In Kosovo, the hasty authors of the petition claim, there is no freedom for the "members of the nation which gave more for the freedom of Yugoslavia than any other nation of this country which has been a ball of fire for centuries." The petition claims that "this is a fact and not a nationalist slogan." This thesis is accompanied by a statement according to which the capitulating Serbian leadership has not been working for the interests of the Serbian nation for 4 decades. The same amount of time was spent by the "Yugoslav leadership which has been playing the card 'weak Serbia—strong Yugoslavia,' and the last state and party leaderships' sessions have demonstrated that they still do not have the will nor intention to directly rescue the Serbian nation from being exiled from age-old hearths."

Threats With Meetings [subhead]

In their "national euphoria," the authors of the petition also add that for a numerically small nation it is quite an achievement when in its history "it changes the earthly kingdom for the heavenly glory even once, especially when it does it more or less on its own—whenever there is trouble in the mountainous Balkans." The authors also addressed the leadership of the Student Campus Youth Organization saying that they "expect that they would be forthcoming concerning our demands," otherwise they would not be able to guarantee that they will not resort to organizing meetings and other manifestations on the student campus and outside it."

The integral version of the petition was read last night in a regular program of the Radio Student Campus. At several places there were notices inviting students to sign the petition for the organization of a "1-day collective visit to Kosovo where students would lend a hand to Serbs and Montenegrins on their land during the day, and hold a protest meeting in the evening." The place for holding a meeting would be, according to the petition, determined by the Kosovo Organization Committee for Protest Meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins with which, as students demand, the leadership of the Student Campus and University would be in contact. If the University is not prepared to charter a special train for the students, it is said that the students would bear the cost of transportation to Kosovo themselves.

Banners at Solidarity Meeting in Niksic

AU2109101488 [Editorial report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 19 September on pages 1 and 3, and Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 19 September on pages 1, 5, and 6 carry long reports on the solidarity meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins in Niksic on 18 September.

The 3,500-word BORBA's report carries a list of banners and pictures carried by the participants in the meeting. Among the numerous banners were the following: "We do not want confederation"; "Down with red bourgeoisie"; "Montenegrin leadership, the people have decided, what about you?"; "Draza Markovic, you betrayed Serbia for whores and brandy"; "Azem, get out"; "Down with Kacusa Jasari"; "Zarkovic, Krunic, Dolanc, and Vrhovec should be tried by the people"; Down with the coalition Krunic-Vrhovec-Dolanc-Siroka"; "Suvar, get rid of bureaucrats"; "Slovene LC CC, you trusted Serbia in 1941 and now you support shiptar [derogatory name for Kosovo Albanians] counterrevolution"; "Vrhovec, when are you going to visit the Pope and Reagan again"; "Long live the Yugoslav People's Army"; "Long live the LCY"; "Long live the Serbian LC CC."

The participants in the meeting reportedly carried numerous pictures. These include those of Slobodan Milosevic, Vuk Karadzic, Njegos, Veljo Vlahovic, Sava Kovacevic, Karadjordje, and Nikola Tesla.

In addition to carrying banners and pictures, the participants in the meeting reportedly also shouted the following slogans: "We want arms"; "Let's march on Kosovo"; "Serbia is one"; "Statehood to Serbia, freedom to us"; "Slobo —you are freedom"; "Why don't you help us, we would help you"; "Milosevic—Orlandic"; "Milosevic—Radonjic"; "Militia—people"; "We are all Serbs—we are all Serbs."

POLITIKA's 10,000-word report on the meeting in Niksic contains an 800-word boxed list of banners seen in Niksic. In addition to those mentioned in BORBA, POLITIKA also carries the following: "Who are those who are offering us 'market economy,' brown bread, inflation...economic chaos, and poverty"; "We do not need a reputation in the world and humiliation at home"; "Albanians from Albania go back home, we are not giving our land to anybody"; "If need be, we will all fight for freedom"; "Where is Zarkovic now"; "Bring to trial F. Hodza, K. Siroka, D. Markovic, V. Deva, M. Bakali, S. Krajger, Dj. Stojsic, Dz. Nimani, J. Vrhovec, A. Vlasi, K. Jasari, S. Dolasevic, B. Krunic, P. Matic, Dj. Radosavljevic, Z. Pupavac, D. Jasanica, V. Krstic, and Marelj"; " Suvar, brotherhood is not school reform"; "All the people say, all the people say: Slobodan will take Tito's place, Slobodan will take Tito's place"; "Zarkovic, look for new grass roots"; "Vrhovec—support for counterrevolution"; "Long live Yugoslavia, death to great Albania"; "Down with Azem Vlasi"; "Azem, get the blanket ready, prison cell is waiting for you"; "Last goodbye to Krunic, Vlasi, Vrhovec"; "Krunic, Vlaskalic, Vrhovac, Suvar, do not sneak, Serbia is of age."

POLITIKA also carries the following slogans reportedly shouted by the participants in the meeting: "One constitution"; "Yugoslavia"; "Long live Pekic, we want Pekic"; "We want Batric"; "We will kill Vlasi"; "Impale Fadilj"; "We want arms"; "They sold Kosovo"; "Let us march on Kosovo."

Commentary on 'Real Democratic Changes'

AU2009144688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Sep 88 p 5

[Stevan Niksic commentary: "The Equal and the More Equal"]

[Text] Why do people ("the people") gather together and protest?

Why do they want individual political officials to be called to account?

Why is it exactly these officials whose names are mentioned and not some other ones? And at the same time, individual officials are being extolled, praised, and glorified. Why?

It is the people—one claims—who want some officials and do not want the others; accordingly, one policy has the people's support and the other does not....

The topicality of the subject "the people in politics" has been increasing with dizzying speed from day to day. Just as protest meetings have been spreading in all directions like a forest fire, the number of their interpreters and the interpretations of their basic messages have also been increasing.

This is all completely natural and logical.

There are now some disputes about these interpretations too.

Which is also natural and logical.

The debate about protest meetings and their place and role in politics thereby returns to the fundamental topics and problems of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia, as well as democracy in general.

Do the people have the right to take part in politics? In what way should the people take part in politics? It is around these questions that basic problems of every politics and every political system concentrate. The entire history of political philosophy and all political science boil down to this same problem. Therefore, it is perhaps small wonder that all this is being discussed in our country, although—one must admit—it is strange that debates are started even about things that allegedly have not been controversial.

Therefore, in the midst of the constitutional debate, officially confined to a discussion about some segments ("normative part") of the SFRY Constitution, we resumed the debate on the basic principles of socialism and democracy in Yugoslavia, the principles of the political system upon which the basic principles of the Constitution rest. And, at the same time, the "basic principles" of the SFRY Constitution are still considered untouchable and discussion about them officially considered undesirable.

In a democratic country, and therefore, in our country too, it is somehow absurd to ask whether people have the right to take part in politics. Accordingly it would be just as absurd to answer such questions. If there is anything in a system that officially declares itself to be socialist democratic that might be considered impermissible then it would be—asking such questions. The same applies to the following question: Can people freely express their will and publicly express their agreement or disagreement with some tenets or some officials? For, who can give himself the right to deny the protagonist of original sovereignty the right to express his political will and on what legal basis can he do so?

Of course, all this would have been perfectly clear and beyond dispute, exactly as it seems to some people to be, had it not been for some puzzles that make the whole thing a little unclear and disputable.

I am, for instance, confused by the fact that people who today publicly express their agreement or disagreement with individual officials, who applaud "changes," speak about changes in an extremely limited way. Officials who speak approvingly about these demands for "changes" also seem to have an extremely limited volume of changes in mind.

Here are several examples which are a good illustration of this.

The names of politicians about whom it is said that they "do not enjoy the people's support" are being listed at rallies and meetings, but on no occasion were there any demands for the introduction of democratic, free, and direct elections in Yugoslavia. Therefore, there is no mention of changes in the present system that would make it possible for only those people who enjoy the people's support to find themselves occupying political posts throughout Yugoslavia and for those who do not enjoy such support to be withdrawn.

Had we had a different election system, many of these things happening now would have been unnecessary. Only those people who enjoy the people's support, at least at the beginning, would hold public office. In the event some of them lose the voters' support and confidence, there would exist an easier and more efficient mechanism for establishing the fact and calling such a person to account. For, as is well-known, in some other electoral systems it is known or can be known who is who and what is what at any given moment.

Of course, democracy cannot be reduced to elections alone, but there is obviously no democracy without free, democratic, and direct elections.

Since debates on changing the political system in Yugoslavia as an elementary condition for solving the deep political, economic, and moral crisis opened several years ago, one thing—at least among those who know about the system—has been beyond doubt: The present system of indirect delegate elections has not stood the test of time. All initiatives to change the present electoral system have, however, been smothered in the meantime. The matter is not even mentioned today in the context of those expected and desired changes.

The main preoccupation of citizens at protest meetings and rallies and the main preoccupation of those who are now interpreting the messages of the rallies—both with good reason—is equality. It is the SR of Serbia's equality with other republics and the equality of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. Of course, no reasonable person would dare deny the fact that equality in all respects must be established.

However, it has remained somewhat unclear why—in the present boiling atmosphere and among all those loud demands for changes—the demands have died down for establishing primary political equality of all Yugoslav

citizens, all "Yugoslav people" at the level of the country. The intention was to establish an assembly chamber at the federal parliament, the highest body of political power and self-management, in which Yugoslav citizens would be represented according to the "one man-one vote" principle.

Yugoslavia (together with the RSA, in which the basis for the people's inequality is different, of course) is an exception among countries with a parliamentary system in that its citizens are not equally represented as citizens. Therefore, although differences in the number of citizens in republics are extremely large (SR of Serbia, for instance, has 16 times more citizens than SR of Montenegro), both SFRY Assembly chambers, the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, consist of an equal number of delegates from each republic (apart from delegates from socialist autonomous provinces).

"Nobody in the SFRY Assembly," Prof Dr Jovan Miric asserts, "represents Yugoslav citizens as equal political entities, irrespective of their other special political characteristics—that is, national, social, religious characteristics.... If a community is not constituted on the basis of what we as people really are, then such a community is maintained only as an instrument and we do not produce that community, but contract for it, agree on it, and ensure it."

Today in Yugoslavia there is no principle of equal right to vote and there is no federal house in the SFRY Assembly without which—as many Yugoslav political scientists and lawyers point out—it would be impossible to establish democratic relations in the country.

In other words, along with the indisputable need to express the equality of republics as states and the special status of socialist autonomous provinces through an assembly chamber composed by the method of parity, it would be equally logical to have another chamber to express the proclaimed equality of all Yugoslav citizens according to the "one man-one vote" principle.

Most frequently, discussions on the public political scene touch upon the unity of republics alone; the unity of all Yugoslav citizens, which is abolished by the 1974 Constitution, has been pushed to the background and forgotten.

True, this is not the only element of the present political system (that is, electoral system) that puts Yugoslav citizens in a mutually unequal position, a fact that is facilely ignored and which nobody is "bothered" about. Along with the classical types of political, territorial (citizens represented in local communities), and functional representation (representation of working people), the current Yugoslav Constitution includes a third solution not known to any other world political system: sociopolitical chambers in assemblies consisting of delegates of sociopolitical organizations. Therefore, citizens who are LC members, for instance, are represented twice as well as those citizens who are not party members; those citizens who are members of several sociopolitical organizations are many times better represented in the assembly than those who are not "politically active." Therefore, all citizens are equal in principle, only some of them, as George Orwell would put it, are more equal.

Of course, all this is absurd in a system that, in principle, guarantees equality to all its citizens.

The different, in fact privileged, position of members of the LCY and other sociopolitical organizations in relation to other citizens in the present electoral system shows in a way that the LCY (as well as other sociopolitical organizations) is now directly built into the state apparatus in this way as well. It goes without saying that this is at variance with the principle stated in the LCY program on the separation of party and state. However, this logically corresponds to the obvious fact that this principle is only a dead letter (and increasingly more so), and to the fact that the "critical detachment" of the LCY toward authorities has been melting away.

At the same time, it is interesting, but perhaps also characteristic, that the politicians whose names have been mentioned in a negative context at public rallies lately are, without exception, members of the highest party bodies—that is, members of the LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Why?

Does this perhaps mean that the participants in protest meetings ("the people") do not find in all these hot topics which dominate the rallies any reason to call assembly officials, Executive Council members, and other state officials to account? Have the rally participants pardoned these officials in advance, concentrating their entire attention on the responsibility of individual members of highest party bodies?

Or is this perhaps only another fact that shows the reality of the political system in Yugoslavia and its distorted image compared with proclaimed principles, a fact that shows the people's feeling that the LC—contrary to the policy it advocates in principle—still pulls the strings?

Applauding changes and mentioning a limited list of things that ought to be changed immediately, individual participants in protest meetings and those people in political forums who fervently support them perhaps do sometimes assume that the entire list (of all that is ripe for change) is taken for granted. That is normally not a reasonable move in politics, because it can create undesirable confusion, with different people implying different things.

The chances for real democratic changes in Yugoslavia—changes that would ensure full equality for all Yugoslav citizens—are directly connected with the processes of an actual national homogenization in differen

Yugoslav nations. While we are witnessing these processes, there can hardly be any real democratic changes, however intensely we may invoke them and applaud them.

Naturally, all Yugoslav republics would have to be equal. However, until all people in Yugoslavia are equal, regardless of their republican, national, or other affiliation, there will be little benefit from equality among the republics.

Tito Reexamination Rejected; Matic Firing Urged

LD2009230488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—The proposal for a free and critical reexamination of the historical role of Josip Broz Tito, which was made to the SFRY Presidency and the Yugoslav Assembly by the so-called Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression, has counterrevolutionary and hostile content. The aim of this text is to belittle and discredit not only the historical role and contribution of Josip Broz Tito, but also to negate the national liberation struggle, the socialist revolution, and everything that has been done in the postwar socialist construction. This was stressed at today's session of the Serbian SUBNOR [Federation of National Liberation War Veterans' Associations] Presidium at which it was stressed that there should have been a reaction to this text much earlier, and that, according to Mica Popovic, it was strange that the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia had not given any assessment of this document. The unscholarly attitude to all the issues to which the "proposal" addresses itself is amazing even though there are 13 academics among the signatories, Milivoj Stojkovic stressed. Bora Drmoncic emphasized that the ideological content of this pamphlet should be uncovered by scholarly argument.

The Serbian SUBNOR Presidium today called for the rejection of Petar Matic resignation, and asked that he be sacked from his position as head of the veterans' organization. There was also a call for the LCY Central Committee Presidium to establish the ideopolitical responsibility of Matic for the situation that he has caused in the Yugoslav SUBNOR. Full support was also given in the discussion for the stances of Dusan Pekic and regret was expressed that the leadership of the Yugoslav SUBNOR is losing such a fighter for brotherhood and unity and a person of exceptional qualities. Amazement was expressed that despite all the events that are shaking the veterans' organization, a session of the Federal Board of the Yugoslav SUBNOR has not yet been convened.

Matic Ousted From SUBNOR Post

LD2109103388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0845 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Federal Board of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia today unanimously recalled Petar Matic from the post of president of the Presidium of the country's Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia instructed the provincial board of the Vojvodina Federation of Veterans' Associations to propose a new candidate for this post since, according to the established sequence, the candidate for the president of the Presidium of the veterans' organization in this period of mandate is put forward by the veterans' organization of that province.

Defense Minister Kadijevic Visits Montenegro

AU2109093088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 88 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Kadijevic in Titograd"]

[Text] Titograd, 16 Sep—As part of the regular activities and of the established practice of mutual briefing and work on preparing and organizing society for the defense of the country, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for defense, and his assistants paid a 2-day visit to the SR of Montenegro and the Titograd military district.

In the talks particular attention was paid to the most important questions concerning the military-economic sector and the rear area sector, and in this connection to the cooperation between the Yugoslav People's Army and the associated labor organizations in the SR of Montenegro in developing special purpose production and production for the needs of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Talks were also held on matters concerning all-people's defense and it was concluded that in the SR of Montenegro great efforts have been made and results achieved in strengthening all the components of all-people's defense.

Particular attention was paid to the current sociopolitical and economic issues in the country and the republic. The importance of bringing about unity in the country was stressed, as this is the condition for a more rapid solution of the most important social questions.

Security Situation in Macedonia Reported

LD2009212988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Skoplje, September 20 (TANJUG)—Strikes, hostile activities by Albanian separatists and chauvinists and economic crimes have increased in Yugoslavia's Macedonia Republic, the republic's internal affairs secretary Aleksandar Andonovskiy told the republican assembly today.

Andonovskiy submited a report on the security situation in the republic to the assembly.

He said there were 122 strikes in Macedonia this year with 18,000 participants. This was explained with the difficult economic situation in the country, especially in the republic.

The report said 34 persons had been prosecuted on criminal charges of causing nationalist, racial and religious hated since October. 224 persons had been sentenced for offences.

Andonovski said 10 illegal Albanian hostile organisations with 76 members had been discovered in the republic since 1981 when Albanian chauvinists and separatists staged a counter-revolution in the neighboring Kosovo Province.

Andonovskiy said Albanian chauvinists had undertaken hostile activities in Macedonia in cooperation with Albanian chauvinists from Kosovo and hostile emigrees and were motivated by certain scientific, cultural and other institutions and public figures from Kosovo.

Andonovskiy said Albania continued stimulating and supporting Albanian nationalism in Yugoslavia and the activities of the hostile Albanian emigration.

He said intelligence, subversive-propaganda and activities intended to deny the existance of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria and Greece were being continued.

Vrhovec Foresees LCY Session in Early October

LD2009223188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1918 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Bitola, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—In the political crisis, in which we have been for a long time, the worst thing is that confrontation is being carried out on a national basis. This weakens the unity of the front of socialist action and the struggle for political and economic stabilization, and threatens the democratic path for finding a way out of the crisis. This was stated by Josip Vrhovec, member of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Central Committee at which there was discussion of the implementation of the tasks of the 13th LCY Congress and the ninth congress of the Macedonian LC in this municipality.

There is a tendency, Vrhovec said, toward the creation of the most extraordinary possible situation in order to realize the demand for emergency measures. Emergency measures would be catastrophic for our country and its reputation. Unfortunately, there are too many of these actions in our country.

Vrhovec confirmed the view of this meeting that the current leadership is to blame for the deterioration in the present situation, but he stressed that the method of establishing this responsibility in terms of improving the situation on a socialist basis, is vital. The tendency to abandon the legality of searching to establish responsibility to the people in the street is unacceptable. The people in the street cannot perform what should be achieved in institutional forms. Some phenomena are beyond civilized society, and the existence of threats, even to individuals, according to Vrhovec, represents a Stalinist method of settling accounts. Accounts cannot be settled with people outside the institutions, least of all on the street, Josip Vrhovec said.

Vrhovec said it is expected that the 17th LCY Central Committee session will be held at the beginning of October. There has to be a certain delay because of the coordination of the numerous differences which exist on a series of questions. Vrhovec stressed that the fundamental task of the LCY is to ensure unity in the realization of the common interests of all the parts of our country.

For most of his speech, Vrhovec explained the stances of the SFRY Presidency on the current situation in our country.

Factory, Organization Workers Strike for Pay

Rijeka Workers Want 65

Raise

LD2009153288 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Dissatisfied with their personal incomes, which on average over the last 7 months have amounted to 440,000 dinars, workers stopped work this morning at the crane factory. Following an extraodinary workers' meeting the whole work organization of the Rijeka Vulkan enterprise began a strike. The workers are seeking a 65-percent increase in personal incomes, although legally they can be increased by only 15 percent.

Cisnos Workers Request 80

Raise

LD2009214888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Buzet, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—First shift workers at the Cimos basic associated labor organization did not work today because they are dissatisfied with the distribution of personal incomes among the lowest category of workers. They believe their income lags too far behind other parts of the work organization and, therefore, they are requesting an 80 percent wage increase. The lowest wage paid by Cimos in August, amounted to 350,000 dinars, while the average for the associated labor organization was 530,000 dinars.

Report on Seminar on SFRY-U.S. Relations
LD2009131788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1213 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 20 (TANJUG)—The first two post-war decades (1944-1965) in Yugoslav-U.S. relations were characterized by a series of developments of major importance to both the initial ideological confrontations and the subsequent gradual rapprochement and normalization of relations between the two countries. This was stated at the beginning of a three-day seminar entitled "Yugoslav-American Relations in the 1944-1965 Period," which opened in Belgrade.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar has sent a message to the participants in the seminar. He cited tradition and the important contribution of scholars to cooperation between the two countries.

Addressing the meeting, U.S. Ambassador in Belgrade John Scanlan described relations between Yugoslavia and the United States as good and even excellent, adding that the contribution of historians to this was very large.

It was noted in introductory remarks at the seminar that misunderstandings in bilateral relations in the early post-war years were due to the two countries' different systems, relations between the rival blocs, Yugoslavia's resolve to pursue an independent policy and also to different views on the solution of the Trieste crisis. Yugoslavia's break with Stalin was also mentioned along with the fact that the Americans at first did not believe that it was final.

In his analysis of the first three post-war years in Yugoslav-American relations, Yugoslav historian Branko Petranovic pointed out that they were characterized by ideological and actual confrontations, and the United States' one-sided treatment of Yugoslavia as one of the satellites of the Soviet Union. He said that the U.S. viewed Yugoslavia from the aspect of its relations with the Soviet Union as part of the monolithic communist world where the general tone is set by the Soviet Union and where it was impossible to express individuality.

Assessing that U.S. notion of Yugoslavia was one-sided and rigid, Petranovic said that the United States must have known about the differences that existed between Yugoslavia and the countries with the so-called people's democracy.

U.S. scholars Lorraine M. Lees, Denison Rusinov and Nicholas G. Andrews also addressed the seminar.

Lorraine M. Lees, of the Dominion University, based her address on the documents from the U.S. diplomatic archives. She said that U.S. aid to Yugoslavia, both military and economic, was an important element of cooperation between the two countries. According to the American source, this aid totalled 1,500 million dollars and the strategy behind it was that it should not be allowed to reach the Soviet Union, that it should contribute to the destabilization of the East Bloc and finally that it was to attract Yugoslavia to the Atlantic alliance.

Evidently, Yugoslavia's goal was to preserve independence, concluded Lees, stressing that the United States eventually accepted Tito's policy of preserving independence after realizing that if it did otherwise at the time that would only confirm Soviet accusations against the Yugoslav leader. Tito's wish to remain independent eventually triumphed and the West grew to accept that the fact "that he did not become one of us," said Lees.

Commentary on Upcoming Shevardnadze U.S. Visit
LD2009155188 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The forthcoming visit by Shevardnadze to Washington, where he will meet Secretary of State Shultz and President Reagan—at the end of Reagan's 8-year mandate in the White House—will be, in all probability, the last Soviet-U.S. dialogue at such a high level, unless, of course, the leaders of the two superpowers at the last minute decide to meet once more. This can only happen if in the next 2 or 3 months an agreement is reached on limiting strategic nuclear missiles by 50 percent which, as things stand at the moment, is not very probable.

On the agenda of the forthcoming 2-day Soviet-U.S. dialogue will be several subjects, first the situation in the Middle East and Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal on freezing nuclear and other military forces in the Asian region. Although the United States has reacted restrainedly to the latter subject, it has not completely rejected it, excluding the part relating to the withdrawal of U.S. bases from the Philippines, where the Americans will remain for a long time to come, regardless of how Soviet-U.S. relations may develop in the near or distant future. The path which the leaders of the two superpowers have travelled over the past 3 and ½ years, during the second half of Reagan's mandate, provides hope that things will not be left where they are, that is that there will be further top-level meetings after Reagan's departure. The impression is that both countries are equally interested in such intensive cooperation, regardless of who will succeed Reagan, the Democrat Michael Dukakis or the Republican and current Vice President George Bush.

The Soviet leading team remains, of course, the same, just as ready for dialogue as it has been in the past 3 and ½ years since Mikhail Gorachev's arrival at the head of the CPSU.

The situation in the Middle East ranks among those problems where the stances of the two superpowers have remained the furthest apart, despite certain indications that lead one to the conclusion that both Moscow and Washington are considering new moves which could contribute to a positive outcome in that part of the world. For example, Shevardnadze, during the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly, will meet his Israeli colleague, Shim'on Peres, and Reagan has invited the Israeli minister together with Eqyptian Foreign Minister Al-Majid, to visit Washington, which, as was to be expected, met with sharp reactions in Tel Aviv, because of the Israeli prime minister and Yitzhaq Shamir himself assess that the U.S. President is interfering in the forthcoming Israeli parliamentary elections.

One should not, of course, expect miracles from the meeting between Shevardnadze and Peres, nor should one expect a decision on the establishment of diplomatic relations until Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab territories and recognizes the existence of the PLO. However, if Peres' labor party wins the forthcoming elections, which the Americans would also like, this would make it easier for Moscow and Washington to broach the Middle East problem and persuade Israel to behave differently which, in the long run, would create the vital preconditions for the Palestinian problem to be resolved properly.

Anyway, the Americans have realized that the influence of Moscow in that part of the world cannot be avoided, and if Israel also comes to understand this and realize that only those borders where peace reigns are stable, then significant progress can be expected, in several directions, at the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. talks in Washington.

Loncar Discusses Nonaligned Movement

LD2009224588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—Time has given historical confirmation of the strategic orientations of the Nonaligned Movement, but it has also demonstrated that there are serious weaknesses with respect to the movement's ability to respond to the demands of today's world and to hit upon, discover, and mark out correct and effective roads for its activity at the end of the 20th century.

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, used these words to characterize the Nonaligned Movement today in 2 hours of talks with the chief editors and foreign political journalists of Yugoslav newspapers, radio and television stations, as well as the TANJUG NEWS AGENCY.

Loncar pointed in particular to the importance of the recent nonaligned ministeral conference in Nicosia which ended with the unanimous request of the participants that the movement be brought up to date and modernized as soon as possible and freed from unwieldy conclusions and declarations and especially the methods of its sluggish operations. According to the conclusions from Nicosia, this is the imperative of today. This was also the reason why a special committee was formed in Nicosia, composed of 35 countries, including Yugoslavia, which until the next summit, will deal precisely with this topic—the modernization of the role of the movement in today's world.

In today's talks with journalists, Loncar spoke in particular about the decision to entrust the organization of the next, the ninth, nonaligned summit, to Yugoslavia. This decision came about virtually spontaneously at the unanimous request of participants at the meeting in Nicosia, something which represents special recognition for Yugoslavia but also brings with it not a little responsibility. The recognition lies in the fact that it was the standpoint of practically everyone that the right host in these complex and delicate times, and especially from the point of view of the further activity of the movement, must be found for the summit. The view prevailed—and this was also stated in Nicosia—that Yugoslavia is a country with a great reputation in the world and with recognized prestige in the movement, that it has no open problems with anyone and that its door is open all the time; and as such it would be a very favorable country to host the next summit. However, the responsibility lies in the fact that it is expected that the host country and future president of the movement, certainly together with others, will do everything it can in terms of modernizing the movement. It was said in Nicosia that, in its development from Belgrade to today, the movement must now move forward in the process of its further evolution.

In any case, Loncar stressed, this unanimous decision in Nicosia is an expression of the confidence the movement has in our country, which certainly makes it even more imperative for us to perform this task in the best possible way.

In Loncar's talks today with journalists, he said the final decision on whether Yugoslavia will accept this responsible duty to host the ninth summit must still be verified in the Federal Assembly. The SFRY Presidency and the LCY Presidium, the FEC and the presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference have given their consent to this initiative from Nicosia. This consent obviously arose from the conviction that the ninth summit—with all the difficulties and possible reservations, especially if one bears our current situation in mind—is an important event for our foreign policy and our nonaligned policy, bearing in mind the current moment of the country.

Romanian Army Delegation Tours Brioni Island
LD2009164688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Pula, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—In the framework of a visit to the SFRY Armed Forces, a Romanian People's Army delegation stayed at the Pula garrison and on the island of Brioni. The delegation, led by Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Romanian Army, was greeted at Pula Airport on behalf of the naval district by Captain Vukota Popovic, chairman of the LCY Organization committee in the naval district. Their host Vice-Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Organization committee in the Yugoslav People's Army arrived with the high-ranking guest and his colleagues. During their visit to the Brioni national park and war memorial, the Romanian delegation members toured with particular interest Vanga, one of the islands of the Brioni archipelago on which a significant part of Josip Broz Tito's activities took place.

Repayment of Austrian Loan Postponed
AU2109093488 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] Vienna, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—An agreement concerning the repayment of Yugoslavia's debt to Austria has just been signed in Austria. According to this agreement, which is one of the first in the series of bilateral intergovernmental agreements, the repayment of 900 million Austrian schillings has been postponed. This amount represents the principal and interest that were due to be repaid between 1 April and 30 June 1988.

After the 2-day negotiations with the representatives of the Austrian Government, the agreement was signed by Boris Skapin, assistant federal secretary for finances, on behalf of the SFRY Government, and Johann Diwoky, director of the Austrian Control Bank, on behalf of the Austrian Government.